

E.C.Q.

Library Communications, Exchanges and Books for Reviews should be sent to the Editor, E.C.Q., St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.

Agents: London: Gile, E. J. Coldwell, Ltd, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

U.S.A.: The Secretary, C.N.E.W.A., 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17.

Belgium: Antwerp, 'Wits et Pax' Library, 17-18 Prince Albert Avenue.

Holland: Utrecht, J. H. van Rossum, Achter Hooftstraat.

Egypt: Cairo, c/o Le Lion, 165 Avenue Reine Neel.

Finland: Helsinki, Allmänna Press Bureau, N. Replanen 11.

S. Africa: Bellville, Cape-province South Africa, M. Seligson, 'Lancet's' 8th Avenue, Boston House.

Yearly subscription: 75 shillings; 2 dollars; 80 Belgian frs, 6 guilders, etc.

Back numbers and single numbers, three shillings each.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS: The E.C.Q. has entered into an agreement with University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., to make the JOURNAL available to libraries in microfilm form.

The film copy is only distributed at the end of the volume year. The microfilm is in the form of positive microfilm, and is furnished on metal reels, suitably labelled. Inquiries concerning purchase should be directed to University Microfilms, 315 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

(Continuation of *Eastern Churches* Number of 'Pax',
founded 1931)

VOL. X

SUMMER 1954

No. 6

THE FATHERS AND THE SCRIPTURES¹

THE most neglected aspect of the immense corpus of writings, which the Fathers of the Church have bequeathed to us, is their exegesis of Holy Scripture. This is the more surprising, since the larger part of what they wrote consists of exegesis. This neglect can, however, readily be accounted for. Generally speaking, patristic interpretation of Scripture, and particularly of the O.T., disconcerts the modern mind by its symbolic character. Moreover, this symbolic exegesis is itself a compound of very different elements between which no clear distinction has hitherto been drawn. And there has been no really scientific way of tackling the subject.

This state of affairs is for several reasons at present changing. Interpreters of the O.T., notably those who follow Hermann Gunkel and Hugo Gressmann, have been emphasizing its eschatological aspect and the fact that it regards the events of Israel's past as figures or types of realities to come, especially in the Prophets and the Psalms. Interpreters of the N.T. on their side have been led to take more seriously its allusions to the O.T. and especially the intention of its authors to show that the eschatological realities announced by the Prophets were accomplished in Christ and in the events of his life. We need only recall here the names of Leopold Goppelt (*Typus, Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen*), Sir Edwyn Hoskyns (*The Fourth Gospel*), C. K. Barrett ('The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel', *J.T.S.*, July-October 1947), and Harald Sahlin (*Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums*).

¹ A paper prepared in French for the Patristic Conference at Oxford in September 1951. The English translation appeared in *Theology*, March 1954. We reprint it here by the kind permission of the author, and the editor and the publishers of *Theology*.—EDITOR.

Alongside this movement which has brought the expositors of the Bible—or at least some of them—nearer to the Fathers, patristic scholars have begun a more rigorous study of the biblical commentaries and homilies of the early Christian centuries. There are now available monographs like those of Henri de Lubac on Origen, of Claude Mondésert on Clement of Alexandria, and of Maurice Pontet on St Augustine's sermons. More particularly, the study of typology in the rites of Christian worship, which was started by F. J. Dölger, has issued in Pere Lundberg's admirable book, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*. I have myself extended this inquiry to the other sacraments in my *Bible et Liturgie*. Finally, in *Sacramentum futuri* I made a first attempt to discriminate between the elements of unequal value and of different origin which we find in the writings of the Fathers.

Thus typology had reappeared on the theological scene. I propose here briefly to indicate the lines of research that are now open, the methodological principles that are emerging, and the first results that can be registered.

I. The first thing that has to be done, as I have suggested, is to draw distinctions. Origen spoke of the *vast forest* of the Scriptures. *A fortiori* the patristic commentaries on the Bible might be so described. One must get one's bearings in this immense world. In the first place, it is essential to distinguish between authentic typology and the various kinds of allegorism. I use these terms for the sake of convenience and because they are becoming generally accepted. It is in fact evident that the symbolic exegesis of the Fathers derives from two quite different sources. One was hellenistic culture, which had both its religious and literary aspects. We know that the philosophers—whether stoic, pythagorean, or platonist—revered the ancient mythological traditions which were handed down to them in their sacred books, but were scandalized by their literal meaning; therefore, they saw in them symbols of either cosmic or spiritual realities. I need only refer to Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.

The same procedure was adopted by the Jews of Alexandria with regard to the Bible, and for similar reasons: they wanted to avoid the scandal that was caused in the cultivated Greek world if the old Bible stories were taken literally. The work of Philo was here of fundamental importance. In his *Quaestiones in Genesim*, for example, he provides in succession a psychological interpretation, a cosmological interpretation, and lastly a mystical interpretation (i.e. one concerning the

intelligible world). Now, Philo had a considerable influence on the Fathers of the Church. We need go no further than those who, we can be sure, made direct use of his work. It is certain that Clement of Alexandria sometimes just transcribes what Philo had written, that Origen made considerable use of him, that Gregory of Nyssa derived from him his exegesis of man's creation, and that Ambrose follows him exactly in several treatises.

Parallel to the influence of Philo was that of the gnostics. While Marcion rejected allegorical interpretation, we know on the other hand that Valentinus and Basilides set much store by it. We possess Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*. In particular, the gnostics developed the allegorical interpretation of the N.T., which for obvious reasons was foreign to Philo; we can get some idea of this from Heracleon's *Commentary on St John*. According to this gnostic exegesis, the persons and events of the O.T. or of the life of Jesus were reflections of the drama of the aeons of the pleroma. One can see that this kind of exegesis influenced Clement and Origen from the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* and from the *Commentary on St John*.

Thus the allegorical exegesis of the Fathers of the Church is closely connected with the religious atmosphere of the hellenistic world. It is also connected with the cultural atmosphere. There was a pronounced taste for symbolism in the literature of the Alexandrine age. Truth seemed more attractive, and less exposed to misunderstanding, if it was enveloped in mystery. 'It is an advantage of myths', said the philosopher Sallustius, 'that they provide us with matter for investigation, since they do not reduce our faculty for thinking to inactivity' (*The Gods and the World*, 3). Certain Fathers of the Church took the same view. Clement of Alexandria says that realities charm us the more when they are presented to us veiled; and Augustine, that there is more pleasure in contemplating the saints who come up from the baptismal font when this is expressed in the words of the Song of Songs: 'Thy teeth are as a flock of sheep which go up from the washing.'

But these kinds of allegory have nothing to do with typology, although in the Fathers the two are mixed up. Typology means not that there is a relation between things visible and invisible, but that there is a correspondence between historical realities at different stages in sacred history. There are three points to notice here. First, it is not a question of a hidden sense in the text of Scripture. Origen was mistaken

in thinking that all the passages in the Bible had a hidden sense which only our ignorance prevents us from recognizing. It is the realities themselves that are types. It is the Flood that prefigured baptism and the Judgement, and Rahab the Gentiles who would be admitted into the New Israel.

Secondly, it is a question of a relation between realities both of which are historical, and not between historical realities and a timeless world. That is why nothing could be further from the truth than to reproach patristic exegesis with not taking history seriously. That is true of allegory but not of typology, of which the whole point is the correspondence between the two Testaments. No doubt what is earthly may be said to prefigure what is spiritual, but only in the biblical sense of the word, where 'spiritual' designates the historical order that was inaugurated by the eschatological outpouring of the Holy Ghost. And finally the resemblance between the type and the anti-type, or between the figure and the reality, is contributed not by anything inherent in the persons or events in question, but by the fact that both form part of a single divine plan and both manifest the way the same God deals with his people. The typology is, as it were, his signature. Thus Isaac, spared and given back to his father, appears to us as a first adumbration of the risen Christ, returning to his Father's glory.

But, it will be asked, how are these authentic types to be recognized? It is not enough to have put allegory firmly on one side. It is also necessary in typology itself to distinguish what is valid from what is not. Every time water is mentioned, are we to see in it a figure of baptism? And is the fact that Rahab's thread was scarlet enough to make it a type of the Passion? Here again we are confronted by an infinite variety of possible interpretations, and it must be confessed that those proposed by the Fathers are of very unequal value. How are we to distinguish those that are worth retaining? Several criteria are to be taken into account.

First, there is tradition. When we can trace the history of a typological theme, which we meet in the Fathers, and discover it in the N.T., in Jewish literature, and in the O.T., there is an initial presumption that it is valid.

A second question to ask is whether the typology is based on the literal sense of the O.T. Here we are up against one of the real difficulties of patristic exegesis. Most of the Fathers were entirely ignorant of Hebrew. In fact none before St Jerome had more than a rudimentary knowledge of it.

They approached the Bible through the LXX and with a Greek or Latin outlook. This explains why they often followed false trails. In this respect our knowledge of semitic languages and oriental archaeology undoubtedly gives us an advantage over them. But on the other hand we must not forget that there was a greater continuity between their culture and that of the people of the Ancient East than there is in our case. Their habits of thought enabled them to sympathize more than we can with the authors whom they were studying. I will give only one example of this, the symbolism of numbers. It was common to the Semites and to the Greeks, even if they applied it differently. We can appreciate to-day that a Clement or an Origen was quite at home with some elements in Genesis or in St John's Gospel which our exegesis has for long misunderstood.

Another criterion is that the comparison ought not to depend on isolated words or images, but on what is really common to whole passages or incidents. Very often, in the N.T. itself, the comparison with the O.T. depends on an apparently insignificant detail. Thus St John compares Christ's limbs unfractured by the soldiers to the unbroken bones of the paschal lamb. To see no further than this detail would be unjust to St John. It is simply a signal that we ought to read again the whole story of the Exodus. Then we shall see that the Christ is the true paschal Lamb. Every time an isolated phrase like this is cited in the N.T., the whole episode in the O.T. should be read again. The word from the cross: *Eloï, Eloï, lama sabachtani*? should lead us to read again the whole of Psalm 22. The comparison is thus between whole passages or incidents. As A. G. Hebert has observed, we must not stop at 'illustrative' analogies but get at the real correspondences.

When this work of distinguishing genuine typology from its distortions has been carried through, the fog of confusion which at first, as it were, hangs over the mass of the patristic commentaries begins to clear away and its main outline can be seen. Certain major themes stand out like summits. I have tried to disengage some of them in my book *Sacramentum futuri*. The first three chapters of Genesis, the stories of the Flood and of Isaac, the Exodus and the life of Moses, the stories of Joshua, David, and Elijah, are typologically in a class by themselves. They are to be found all over the place. They can be traced right into the heart of the O.T. They cannot fail to impress themselves on us. In fact, it is astonishing

to see how great avenues take shape which lead us into the interior of what at first looked like an inextricable jungle.

II. But alongside this discrimination between what is valid and invalid, or between what is primary and secondary, a further task has to be undertaken if one is to find one's way through the mass of patristic exegesis. One must know the different forms which typology can take. Here, too often, attention has been confined to the usual classification of the Antiochene exegesis, which is more literal, and the Alexandrine, which is more symbolic. But, apart from the inexactness of this classification since Alexandria was more adept than Antioch in literal exegesis, it is very far from corresponding to the real complexity of the facts. We must come to the texts without any preconceived framework into which we are going to press them, and see how they arrange themselves.

If what we are about to say is to be understood, it must be allowed that typology can have various aspects. The oldest typology and the foundation of all the others is eschatological typology. This is what the O.T. puts before us. The prophets declare to us that in the end of the times God will perform works analogous but superior to those which he has performed in the past. There will be a new Flood that will destroy the sinful world, as the one in the time of Noah did. And as in the time of the Exodus Yahweh had made 'a way in the sea and a path in the mighty waters', so he 'will do a new thing' with the result that 'the former things' will no longer be remembered (Is. xliii, 16-20). All these themes are dominated by those of the second creation (which itself dominates Isaiah), of the new Paradise and of the eternal covenant.

The N.T. then did not have to invent typology. Its essential message is that the types are fulfilled in Jesus Christ. In him the sinful world is destroyed, the new creation is established, the new Israel is liberated, and the new covenant is constituted. It is important to notice that it is in so far as they are eschatological that the events of Christ's life are prefigured by the O.T. The various writings of the N.T. are more or less fond of different aspects of this typology. Christ is represented by Luke as a new Elijah, and by Matthew as a new Moses. The Fourth Gospel is dominated by the Exodus, the Epistle to the Romans by the theme of the New Adam. But they differ in other respects too. Matthew prefers to show the realization of the types in the biographical details of Christ's life. This continued to be a characteristic of Palestinian exegesis. On the other hand, John is more inclined to see

fulfilments in the mysteries of the Incarnation. His analogies are more theological.

But the life of Christ does not exhaust the realities of the new covenant. It is continued in the Church, which is Christ's body, and in the members of the Church, who are the stones of the temple. Consequently, we have two new forms of typology. The first is churchly typology, of which the principal form is sacramental typology. This appears in St John and in the Pauline Epistles. For I Peter the Flood prefigures baptism. Then there is an individual typology according to which the inner life of the Christian was prefigured in the O.T. We strike it in St Paul when he speaks of 'the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth', or in the paschal catechesis with which I Peter opens. Thus it is possible to distinguish five principal forms of typology: Matthaean, Johannine, churchly, mystical, and eschatological.

These different forms are quite often intermingled by the Fathers. Origen combines several of them, and draws out of them a first sketch of a theory of spiritual senses. He distinguishes a literal sense, a moral sense, and an analogical sense. Sometimes he simply sets down several interpretations one after another. He sees the fall of Jericho successively as a type of the destruction of the power of Satan by Christ's resurrection, of the collapse of the world in the Christian's soul, and of the final destruction of the principalities and powers at the end of time (see *Sacramentum futuri*, pp. 249 ff.). Rahab is seen as a type of Mary Magdalene in the life of Christ, of the entry of the nations into the Church, and of the conversion of sinners.

Nevertheless, certain kinds of interpretation seem to be predominant in particular authors or groups of authors, and so a classification of exegetical schools is possible. For the most part this has yet to be done, but some main lines can already be indicated. Eschatological exegesis is particularly developed in the early Asiatic school: by Papias, Irenaeus, and later by Methodius of Olympus. It carries on the line of the Johannine Apocalypse. Moral exegesis was predominant at Alexandria. This is already clear in the case of Clement, where Philo's influence helped to accentuate it. In the case of Origen, without being exclusive, it is also predominant. In the West it appears in Ambrose, who carries on the Alexandrine tradition and breaks with the line that was followed by early Western exegesis.

The latter was characterized by the Matthaean exegesis,

i.e. by that which dwelt on analogies between the O.T. and the details of Christ's life. It comes out clearly in Hippolytus of Rome. It can be further traced in the Sermons of Zeno of Verona or in the *Tractatus* of Gregory of Elvira. This type of exegesis, which may be connected with the realistic character of the Latin mind, had another focal centre, namely Jerusalem. It is characteristic of the Catecheses of St Cyril. This can be accounted for by the importance which the memories of Christ's earthly life naturally had in Palestine. Similarly, in the liturgical field, Baumstark has observed that it was at Jerusalem that the liturgical festivals ceased to be 'fêtes d'idée' and became historical commemorations. This is the kind of exegesis which Origen formally repudiated as too materialistic. As for sacramental exegesis, which is the most traditional of all, it is most frequently to be found in the mystical catecheses.

Special mention must be made of what is called the school of Antioch. It is marked not by any particular form of typological exegesis, but by its tendency altogether to restrict this kind of exegesis so far as possible, i.e. by retaining it only in those cases where tradition made it practically obligatory. This is especially obvious in the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia. But it had a curious consequence. Since they refused to relate the sacraments to the historical realities of the Old Testament and of eschatology, the Antiochenes came to interpret their symbolism as expressing a relation between visible and invisible realities. And so, through their refusal to accept historical typology, they ended up in a platonic kind of allegorization which was entirely foreign to genuine tradition. This is already apparent in Theodore, and it becomes glaring in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius.

In conclusion, I would call attention to one of the advantages of these studies in patristic typology. They re-establish a continuity between biblical and patristic theology. In fact we have here a fundamental idea which is common to them both. More especially, it seems that typology may help us to a recovery of the Kerygma of primitive Christianity. This seems partly to have consisted in showing that the O.T. types were realized in the Christ. Perhaps it was for this reason that collections of *Testimonia* came into existence. We can recover part of the contents of these *Testimonia* by a study of the N.T., but undoubtedly we have other elements in them transmitted by the Fathers. If St John enables us to see that the brazen serpent belonged to these testimonies,

it is
stre
and
has
N.T.
Chr

F
tho
We
reac
a pe
sinc
two
Jun
con
194
F
to t
hav
Pius
attir
cou
on t

A
P
C
Bac
ther
his
invi
beg
he
1

it is very likely that the prayer of Moses with his arms outstretched, which is associated with it both by the Rabbis and by the Fathers, also belonged to them, as T. W. Manson has shown.¹ Thus typology is found to be at the point where N.T. exegesis and patristics meet in the life of the ancient Christian community.

JEAN DANÉLOU, S.J.

THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIA

RIGHT from the beginning of the *E.C.Q.* this problem has been the subject of various articles and book reviews. The problem has been approached from the side of facts and documents, in the realm of thought and also religious art and tradition have been studied. We have tried and shall continue to try to place before our readers a comprehensive picture of these people of the Russias, a people for whom Catholics should have now a special interest since recent popes have urged this upon us. We have had two special issues, devoted to this subject, that of April-June 1946, and that of January-March 1949, besides one concerning the Ruthenians in the U.S.A. (October-December 1946.)

Here we give some indication of the Church's attitude to the problem by reference to the work of two Jesuits who have adopted the Byzantine rite at the inspiration of Pope Pius XI. The other two articles are studies of the Communist attitude to religion both in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries. We have been fortunate in having expert writers on this subject.

* * *

A Priest in Russia and the Baltic by Charles Bourgeois, S.J.
Pp. 146 (Clonmore and Reynolds, Dublin) 9s. 6d.

Charles Bourgeois became a Jesuit after he had taken his Baccalauréat at Paris, he was ordained priest in 1920 and was then appointed to look after Russian refugees in Paris. After his tertianship he was called to Rome by the general and invited to become a priest of the Byzantine rite. In 1924 he began work in Podlachie, Poland and stayed there two years, he was then sent for four years to Czechoslovakia—in

¹ 'The Argument from Prophecy' in *J.T.S.*, July-October 1945, p. 132.

both places he was bringing former Catholics of the Byzantine rite who had been led into schism, back into union with the Holy See. Some account of the latter work was published in *The Eastern Churches Number of Pax* (January-April 1934): 'The Podcarpathian Schism' by Fr Vassili.

In the book before us we have an account of his work in Estonia (1932-44) and his short stay in Russia (1945), with his reflections. Maybe that Father Bourgeois was in Rome when Pope Pius XI spoke these words in a Consistorial allocution (18th December 1924):— 'the work of reconciliation can be carried on with success only if we eradicate from our minds our false notions concerning the belief and institutions of the Eastern Churches, and study to find the real agreement in matters of Faith between the Eastern and the Latin Fathers.' He certainly modelled his approach to the problem on these instructions of the pope, his reflections are largely a comment as to their application in his own circumstances.

Fr Bourgeois entered Estonia in 1932 and was there seven years, during which period the Soviet Army invaded the country, the Germans marched in and the Soviets returned, an experience to say the least. The greater part of the book deals with the author's reunion work among the Orthodox, Estonian and Russian, and his stay in Moscow and Leningrad.

The account of these events is simple and his observations are most interesting though they sometimes seem contradictory as he tries to solve the problem of the Slav enigma.

In Estonia his contacts were mostly with the Estonian Orthodox, among whom there were some clergy who desired union with Rome including the Metropolitan Alexander. There was, however, a Russian party, which formed about half the flock, most members of which were in opposition to any such move. Yet in spite of this Fr Bourgeois got to know very many of the Orthodox clergy, he took the line of prayer and friendliness. The better to concentrate on this he established himself in an old farmhouse at Esna, a solitary place; he was there from 1936-41. Here he lived a life of prayer and silence, welcoming Orthodox and others to share his solitude. Here he celebrated the Byzantine liturgy in Estonian, and as he was in a Lutheran part of the country, this could not be interpreted as an anti-Orthodox offensive.

It was in May 1945, that Fr Bourgeois at last set foot in Moscow, he also went to Leningrad. His stay there was brief. Brief indeed, but long enough for comment.

All his priestly life he had been working with Russian immigrants and other Slavs; his time in Estonia was exceptional. Now here he was in Russia and he had to make use of a special permission to say the Roman Mass, this he felt very much, it was the cause of some reflections. We will quote:—

'In reality the open use of the Eastern rite in Russia by Catholics would unmask the lie with which the Orthodox hierarchy have for eight centuries been feeding the Russian people, and which allows them to claim that the Catholic Church is foreign, Polish. When the Nuncio, Mgr Arata, had obtained this permission in 1939, he had hesitated for a time as he felt that to return to the Roman rite would be to destroy the whole edifice of that Slavonic mentality which one must possess and must preserve in order to live in all sincerity with our Slavonic brothers, in all sincerity with oneself. He should be able to go to the Slavs and say, I am yours, I have the same reactions as yourselves and that for ever, till the hour of death . . .

The only way to conjure away the schism was to become a Slav oneself. It was a matter of the affections, of the heart, of feeling as they feel. That was his ideal, and after twenty years he remained faithful to it. His ideal—but had he attained it?' (p. 100).

This is one of the problems that is grappled with by one of the pioneer priests who carried out Pope Pius XI's plan and adopted the Byzantine rite as an essential requisite for an apostolate among the Orthodox. Another of the problems raised in this book was, we quote again:—'The position of the Orthodox Church in regard to the Soviet Government has been clearly defined in a letter of the Patriarch Alexis. The characteristic note of the Eastern Church is, he says, one of 'passivity', she knows no other Christian attitude. She does not meddle in affairs of state, nor does she pass judgement on them, but is satisfied with the fulfilment of her work of prayer. If any action of the state should be displeasing to her, she will not react to this by trying to stir up a contrary movement, but is prepared to submit and if need be to suffer.

It would be unjust to see in this position which he has adopted merely a clever gesture and an act of opportunism. An attitude of passivity has in every age been characteristic of the Russian people in every department of their lives, religious as well as military, social, economic, etc. One can thus see that there is nothing very new about this Orthodox

passivity, and indeed that there is an element of continuity in this attitude, but nevertheless this does not excuse its less attractive aspect, to which one can only apply the ugly name of servility. Father Vassily (the name he had taken) was faced with an enigma. There was on the one hand the hierarchy, the incarnation and expression of official Orthodoxy, who in many ways reflected the brutal ways and methods of an atheist power; they represented a form of Christianity which was officially and deliberately opposed to his own, a form of Christianity which, indeed, detested it, and on the other hand there were those Russian crowds who attracted him by their kindness and their simplicity, crowds who were untouched by fanaticism, whose Christianity had so many fine qualities' (pp. 110, 111).

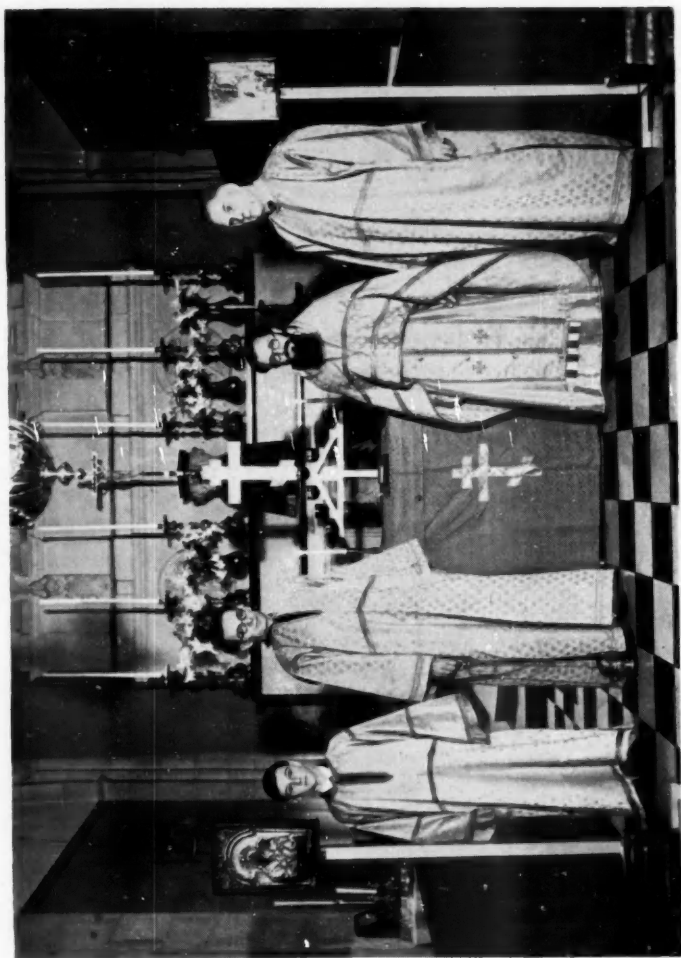
This is enough to recommend the book.

The following information about Orthodox monasticism in the U.S.S.R. is, we think, important.

We quote from *Church and World* (brought out by S. Bolshakoff), March-April 1954 :—

'It is generally believed that there are at present one hundred and one Orthodox Religious Communities in the Soviet Union. Some of them were in the Baltic republics or in the Eastern provinces of pre-war Poland, some were reopened under the German occupation and the remainder were reopened after the last war or survived from Imperial days. The majority of these monasteries are situated in the Ukraine and White Russia. The celebrated Kievo-Pechers-Kaya Lavra has still eighty-nine monks while three convents number 250, 158 and 260 nuns respectively. There is hardly any doubt that Kiev is the chief monastic centre in the Soviet Union. The present superior of the Lavra is the Archimandrite Kronid. The Lavra attracts as large a crowd of pilgrims as it formerly did. Another great Ukrainian monastery, Pochaevskaya Lavra, remains intact. Its importance is very great and is well understood by the Soviet Government. The Lavra is now incorporated into the archdiocese of Lvov and Ternopol in order to accelerate the assimilation of the former Uniates of Galicia into the Orthodox Church. For the same reason, Pancratius Kashperuk, a former monk of Pochaev, is the present archbishop of Lvov. Other Ukrainian monasteries, now flourishing, are the Desert of Glinsk, Assumption monastery in Odessa and Koretski convent in Volynhia. The chief monastery in White Russia is in Ztřirovitci. The Minsk seminary is housed in that monastery.'





So he goes on enumerating the others ; those in Northern Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, in Georgia, Bukovina and Subcarpathia. They are indeed spread out over the U.S.S.R. Here we see hope for the future, if they retain the holiness of former days !

* * *

THE REPORT OF THE FORDHAM RUSSIAN CENTER, NEW YORK

In the autumn issue of the *E.C.Q.* for 1951, we mentioned the setting up at Fordham University of an Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies in 1950, and associated with this the opening a year later, of a Russian centre with a Slav-Byzantine chapel and a reading room open to the public under the direction of Father F. Wilcock, S.J.

The work that this centre aims at is :—

To train priests for the Russian apostolate (not necessarily in the Society of Jesus). To publish Catholic books in Russian and books in English on Russian questions. To do relief work among Russian displaced persons. To make contacts with dissident Orthodox Christians in general and Russians in particular. To spread among the American Catholics a true knowledge of Russia, its people and their Christianity ; and thus to gain interest, prayers and material support for the work. To be a centre of information, not only about the Russian apostolate but also about the non-Catholic Eastern Churches and their small Catholic counterparts, in general.

It is remarkable that in spite of its short life (only twenty or so months) the centre has been able to make a start in all these spheres of activity with a staff of seven or eight.

The photographs given here were taken on two occasions of the celebration of the holy liturgy, arranged for by the Society of St John Chrysostom in London.

No. 1, shows Father Charles Bourgeois, S.J., in the confraternity chapel, set apart for the celebration of Eastern liturgies in the Church of St Patrick, Soho.

No. 2, shows Father Wilcock, S.J., and his assistants. Dr Burmester, a regular contributor to the *E.C.Q.* on things Coptic and also on Cyprus, is holding a censor.

This liturgy took place in the Church of SS. Anselm and Cecilia, King's Way, on 28th July 1938.

In both cases the small Byzantine altar is placed in front of the Latin altar of the church.

THE EDITOR.

GOD AMONG THE GODLESS¹

(THE ATHEIST MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION)

THERE have been two kinds of atheist movements in the Soviet Union. In a certain wider sense, the Communist Party and its subsidiary organizations, such as the Young Communist League and the trade unions, are part and parcel of the atheist movement, even if atheist propaganda is not their chief aim but only a sideline of their activity. In addition, however, an atheist movement has existed in Russia in a more narrow direct sense in the form of a special atheist organization, which, during the pre-war period, was known successively as 'Society of the Friends of the Newspaper *Bezbozhnik*', the 'League of the Godless', and after 1929 as 'League of the Militant Godless'. In the post-war period certain functions of this League were taken over by the 'Society for the Dissemination of Scientific and Political Knowledge'.

This definition of the Soviet atheist movement as the sum total of atheist organizations has great shortcomings. It is a purely formal definition and needs strong qualifications. For instance, the atheistic character of even the *Communist Party* is not a matter which can be affirmed without any reservations. For us in the West there exists an *a priori* identity between Communism and atheism, but as far as Russia is concerned this identity is by no means axiomatic. Certainly, on the ideological plane Communism and religion are at opposite poles. The leaders of the Communist Party are atheists. But when we look at the rank and file then we get a slightly different picture. People have never joined the Russian Communist Party primarily because of its anti-religious bias. They joined for a variety of reasons, some highly idealistic, and some of a pure opportunistic nature. Quite a number of Russians became Party members without even accepting the atheistic ideology of Communism. At first the Party turned a blind eye to such persons. In the years prior to the October Revolution, Lenin had no hesitation in admitting into the Party industrial workers who were religious believers. The existence of devout Christians among the rank and file of the 'Old Bolsheviks' was one of the most startling discoveries which the Party authorities made after the Russian Civil War. But even a long time after that, at the time of the first Five-Year Plan, religion was still very much alive inside

¹ This paper was read at an *E.C.Q.* study circle in 1953.—EDITOR.

the Party. This was proved by the instructions which the Party authorities issued in 1929 for the perusal of Purge Commissions. The Commissions were advised to expel all members from the urban party branches who had not finally broken with religious customs. In the countryside the purge was aimed at members who had still kept friendly relations with local priests. Also, the following purge, that of 1934, showed how difficult it was for individual communists, and even whole groups of Communists, to break with religion. Moldavia, a territory situated in the South-Western corner of the Soviet Union, supplies an interesting example in this respect. There, certain Communist Party members were not only practising Christians but they also collected money for religious purposes. They sang religious hymns even when going to the meetings of the very purge commission which was to victimize them for their ideological backwardness. This was presumably an extreme case from which one cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions, but there were—and undoubtedly still are—many instances of party members who, whilst not real Christians, Moslems or Jews, cannot be described as 'atheists'. Their religious convictions might be summed up in a sentence coined by Colonel Tokayev, a former member of the Soviet Communist Party who found refuge in England in 1948. Asked what his attitude towards religion was, Tokayev answered: 'I am not conceited enough to say that God does not exist'.

In examining the attitude of the individual Communist Party member towards religion, we must not forget that the Party consisted in the early years of Soviet rule of a fairly small number of people who lived inside a predominantly Christian country. It stands to reason, therefore, that they could not ignore its rules and customs altogether. For instance, some Communist Party members had their children christened, or others insisted on having the traditional Russian Orthodox Easter food—these used to be nicknamed 'Easter cake communists' (*Kulichnye Partiiity*). Then there is the question of eikons in Communist homes. Official Soviet sources are not very informative on this subject, but last year it was reported in the press that a number of Communists in the Altai Territory had still not parted with their eikons. This inspired *Krokodil*, the leading Soviet satirical journal, to produce a most significant cartoon. It showed a man making the sign of the cross in front of an eikon and saying 'Oh Lord, help me to eliminate the remnants of capitalism in my mind!'

What has been said about the Party as only a relatively atheistic organization also applies to the Young Communist League (the Komsomol), despite the very intense anti-religious propaganda campaigns which the League has carried out among its members from time to time. Complaints in the Soviet press that members of the Komsomol still go to church and perform religious rites are not frequent, but they do occur.

As far as the Soviet trade unions are concerned, it would not even be true to say that the vast majority of the members are atheists. At the time of the Ninth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, which took place in April 1932, over one-third of the women members and one quarter of the male members were officially classified as 'religious believers'. This does not mean that all the remaining members were 'atheists'. It was stated from the rostrum of the Congress that even many trade unionists who considered themselves as 'free of religious survivals' had still 'many religious elements in their minds'. This was the state of affairs in 1932, and since then the strength of religious feeling in the trade unions must have declined considerably. A new generation of industrial workers has grown up on which religious education has made a much smaller impact than on the generation before. But, on the other hand, the number of Soviet trade union members has nearly doubled since 1932 (from sixteen million to over thirty million) and many of the newly recruited factory workers and trade unionists have migrated only recently from the rural areas to the industrial centres of the U.S.S.R. The 'Godlessness' of the cities has not yet absorbed them. This is a point deserving a more detailed treatment. The advance of atheism in Soviet Russia is not only, and perhaps not even primarily, a product of Communist propaganda and education. It is equally prompted by Soviet Russia's industrial revolution and by the uprooting of large masses of people whose traditional way of life is being suddenly and radically changed. But this feature is no Russian speciality. The de-Christianization of the cities and the proletariat is known all over the European continent, particularly in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Now let us turn to the League of the Godless. To what extent was the League an atheistic organization? This seems to be an absurd and superfluous question to ask, and yet it is not quite out of place. The atheism of the League was not

something absolute. It was an atheism mitigated by opportunism. The leaders of the League always stressed that atheist propaganda must be related to the interests of the class struggle and the general political and economic programme of the Communist Party. The materialism of the League became, therefore, often a petty, economic materialism devoid of any larger ideological concept and vision. For instance, the League motivated its campaign for the removal of church bells by its desire to provide more precious ferrous metals for Soviet heavy industry, and it conducted the agitation against Christmas trees in the alleged interest of forest protection. As the atheism of the League was no aim in itself, a situation could easily arise in which the whole atheist organization had to be sacrificed to a tactical manoeuvre of the Soviet Government, and this is what finally happened.

But what about the membership of the League? Can their atheism be taken more seriously than that of the rank and file of the Party? It would seem logical that all members of a League of Godless should be genuine atheists, and yet the leaders of the League themselves were never really sure about this point. They were always haunted by the fear that some persons might join their organization for ulterior motives, to prove their loyalty towards the régime, or even to undermine the League from within. There were in all likelihood other members of the League who fundamentally sympathized with its aims but who were later tortured by doubts as to whether they had done the right thing in giving support to a society for the promotion of Godlessness. In the early years of the League a discussion took place within its fold which clearly showed that the members suspected each other of harbouring religious feelings in secret. The question at issue was whether members of the League should enter church buildings to check on the number of believers and to assess the strength of religious feeling in a given locality. It was finally decided that no League member should go to church without consulting with his local branch organization beforehand—otherwise the impression might be created that he wanted to pray himself.

When the League of Godless was first launched it was far from being popular with the bulk of the Party members. Many a Russian Communist was reluctant to boast about his atheism in public and considered the League of Godless at first as an eccentric sect of the Party. The Foundation Congress of the League which was held on Easter Day, 1925, attracted

hardly any attention. The principal Soviet newspapers devoted no comments to it, nor did they report its speeches and discussions. The Party and the Government did not wish to be associated officially with the new organization, and the leaders of the League were, therefore, people without any particular standing in the Communist hierarchy. Nor had they any close contacts with the important social forces of the country—the working class and the peasants. The first Central Committee of the League of Godless consisted mostly of radical Communist intellectuals who had a vested interest in the promotion of atheism. They included the editor of the *Bezbozhnik*, the editor of the journal *The Godless at the Bench* (*Bezbozhnik u stanka*), the head of the anti-religious sector of the Communist Academy, and a certain Mikhail Gorev, an orthodox priest who apostatized and who became the theological expert of the organization. Only the Chairman of the League, Yemelyan Yaroslavsky, was a politically important figure. He was the Secretary of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party, the body in charge of the Party purges. It was mostly due to Yaroslavsky's influence that the League acquired recognition in Party circles and that it succeeded in becoming a mass organization, at least for a short period.

But this took years of very tough, up-hill struggle. The whole idea of a League of Godless did not fit into the Soviet atmosphere of the middle of the twenties, when the Soviet Government was still out to appease the peasants by concessions and hesitated to show any open hostility towards their religious feelings. In certain districts the Party authorities did not even allow the opening of branches of the League. In other districts they prevented the distribution of its pamphlets among the rural population, and the Political Administration of the Red Army confiscated some of its posters. It was felt that the posters concerned, because of their crudeness, were an indirect incitement towards religious fanaticism.

The turning point in the official attitude towards the League came in 1928–29 with the beginning of long-term economic planning and compulsory collectivization of agriculture. The new course in the economic sphere was accompanied by a greater radicalism in the ideological field and by measures against religion in the first place. Religious holidays were abolished; an uninterrupted working week was introduced which virtually suppressed Sunday as the day of rest, and the

authorities condoned more openly the closing of churches. In this new extremist atmosphere the League of Godless was able to flourish. It quickly increased the number of its members and expanded its activities.

But even during its heyday in the early thirties, the League remained an alien element within the Soviet totalitarian State, for it stimulated discussions and disagreements on philosophic subjects. Certain ideological conflicts which could not be argued out within the Party itself were debated inside the League. An extremist minority definitely went out to transform the Godless organization into the radical vanguard of Soviet Communism. This group, which consisted mainly of officials of the Young Communist League, argued that the Communist Revolution of 1917 would remain incomplete as long as religion was not destroyed by violent means. They therefore accused the leadership of the League (which laid the main stress on propaganda and education) of pursuing a right-wing and opportunistic policy.

In practice the cleavage between Yaroslavsky and his radical opponents was not as wide as it was in theory, for the officials of the League interpreted the terms 'education' and 'propaganda' rather freely. They did not confine their activities to the publication of anti-religious pamphlets and the organization of evening classes on materialist philosophy. They initiated the closing of churches called upon people not to give any money for religious purposes, and agitated against so-called indirect assistance to religious organizations. For instance, the workers of the printing trade were urged not to print religious literature, whilst building workers were told that they must not lend a hand in church repairs.

For a short period in 1932, the League had as many as five and a half million members, but very soon the decline started. The average Soviet citizen and even the average Communist was so absorbed by the economic tasks of the Five Year plans that not much time and scope were left for the activities of the Godless organization. Soon the membership was again below two million, while the percentage of really *active* members was insignificant. The impact of the organization on the masses of the people was very slight, but it took the Party authorities a long time to become fully aware what a failure and self-deception the League was, and it took them even longer to see the more fundamental mistakes of their anti-religious policy.

But two events took place in the thirties which were bound

to impress the more honest and more subtle among the Soviet Communists. The first happened outside the Soviet Union. It was the coming to power of Nazism. This faced the Soviet Communist Party and the League of Godless with a situation they had never expected. Suddenly, a rival had entered the scene, a Fascist Godless movement which persecuted both religious believers and Communists. This was an unheard-of fact which defied atheist propaganda about the reactionary and fascist role of the churches but which the Soviet press, nevertheless, could not hide from its readers. On 1st January 1934, Mikhail Koltsov, the most prominent Soviet journalist of the period, wrote in *Pravda* about the struggle between Church and State in Germany, and amongst other things he said the following:

'In solitary villages and in the skyscrapers of the towns people whisper mischievously and with fear of the anti-Christ, of the end of the world, and of the last Judgement, but the government firmly sticks to its guns.'

Every thoughtful reader of Koltsov's article must have felt that this passage was applicable both to Germany and Russia, but for a considerable period the lessons of Nazism passed by unheeded. Another event, the Soviet census of 1937 was necessary to open the eyes of the Soviet Communists.

One purpose of the census was to show the triumph of atheism in Soviet Russia after almost two decades of Communist rule. To prove this point every Soviet citizen filling in the census questionnaire had to state whether he was a believer or a non-believer. The organizers of the census apparently thought that only a small number of people would dare to come out openly as supporters of religion. They were mistaken. The census became an opportunity for the believers of all religious creeds to demonstrate their attachment to their faith. It was also a great challenge to those who had wavered and even to those who had nearly abandoned religion altogether. These could not bring themselves to carry out the last step of apostasy and to write the ugly word 'non-believer' on the census form. So they entered 'believer' instead. No wonder that the census failed to sound the death-bell of religion and became its great triumph. Its results were so embarrassing that the authorities scrapped the census returns and arrested the census officials. Two years later another census was organized from which every question about religion was omitted.

The census forced the Party to a general stocktaking of

the situation on the anti-religious front. During this process of stocktaking it appeared that a great deal of what the atheist propagandists did with the express purpose of destroying religious feelings actually strengthened them. It became obvious that even the roads of Godlessness had led to God. For example, authors of anti-religious pamphlets were charged with engaging in secret religious propaganda because they quoted at too great length from religious literature. Anti-religious museums were closed because people showed too much reverence to some of their exhibits, particularly to certain miracle-working eikons. The Vice-President of the League of Militant Godless, Lukashovsky, and other officials of the organization were charged with deliberately sabotaging anti-religious work by provoking the believers. They were arrested and probably executed.

At this point a number of Communist leaders may have realized that the failure of militant atheism was due not only to the organizational shortcomings of the League of the Godless but also to a profound ideological miscalculation of the religious factor. They could see that their approach towards religious creeds had suffered from over-simplification. Perhaps, they might have argued, religion was, after all, something more than an instrument of the exploiting classes; perhaps religion did not simply belong to the superstructure of society but was part of its very basis. The only person who dared to express this in public was Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, who, in April 1937, wrote a most remarkable article for the Moscow newspaper *Izvestiya*. The warning which Krupskaya gave to her fellow-Communists can be roughly summarized as follows: Don't under-rate religion as a source of morality. For centuries religion has taught people what is good and what is bad. We have not been able to supersede the Church satisfactorily and many parents are still impressed by the argument that children who get a religious education behave better than those who do not have one. And, Krupskaya goes on, don't forget the many-sided activities of the Church: her contributions to art, social work and to the care of the sick. Don't overlook that the Church has been a sort of club and has played an important part in the social life of the nation. All this cannot be eradicated so quickly. (*Izvestiya*, 27th April 1937.)

Madame Krupskaya's provocative statement was a voice in the wilderness. It was very far from initiating a 'go slow' policy in the religious field, for the second half of the year

1937, brought to all religious communities of the Soviet Union the worst persecution which they have ever experienced. This persecution, however, was carried out directly by the Soviet State authorities and the League of the Militant Godless played hardly any part in it.

More than four years elapsed after the publication of the Krupskaya article before the Soviet régime really changed its religious policy, but this was not so much the result of an ideological re-thinking as the outcome of opportunistic considerations. Without the outbreak of the German-Soviet War, the League of Militant Godless might have lingered on for a few more years, but Russia's invasion created a new state of affairs in which the existence of an openly atheist organization might have been a source of embarrassment. So the League was disbanded and all its press organs, in particular the newspaper *Bezbozhnik*, ceased publication. The disbandment of the League and subsequent developments, particularly the semi-recognition of the Russian Orthodox Church by the Soviet State have often been interpreted as events worthy of the satisfaction of Christian believers. But it is debatable whether the year 1941 was really a turning point to the better from the point of view of the religious creeds. Whatever one might reproach the League of the Godless with, one thing is certain. It fought the Church most mercilessly but it fought them in an open direct fight. The end of the League as an organization simply meant that in the long run more cunning methods of anti-religious propaganda and action were to be put into effect.

On the other hand, it was a triumph for the believers that an organization which during sixteen years had so persistently flouted their innermost feelings ceased to exist and was not resurrected after the war, at least not in its original form.

The Soviet Communist Party learnt two important lessons from the failure of the League of Militant Godless. Firstly, that atheism must not be propagated in a straightforward manner and, secondly, that it must be entrusted to an elite and not to a mass organization. These two considerations are at the basis of the foundation in June 1947 of the 'Society for the Dissemination of Scientific and Political Knowledge'. The Society, whose membership is limited to actual and potential lecturers, has a very comprehensive task. It explains the home and foreign policy of the Government, it spreads a fair amount of general knowledge, and it conducts atheist propaganda almost as a by-product. The Society has a special

atheist-scientific section, the head of which—Fyodor Nestorovich Oleshchuk—was a foundation member and leader of the League of Militant Godless. The activity of this atheist-scientific section is confined to the publication in very large editions of anti-religious pamphlets and to the preparation of briefs for speakers.

The direct anti-religious campaign as conducted by the new Soviet society for mass education and its atheist section, is supported and greatly strengthened by a gigantic, many-sided, indirect, anti-religious propaganda. This is carried out by the Soviet schools, by a large part of Soviet Russia's book production and by thousands of newspapers and journals which preach the materialist philosophy of Communism. To this flood of newsprint the believers can oppose next to nothing—except a few religious almanacs and probably not more than four small periodicals (*The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, the *Journal of the Central Asian Mohammedan Ecclesiastical Board*, which is published in Tashkent, the *Echmiadzin*, which is the organ of the Armenian Church and, finally, the *Bratskii Vestnik*, the organ of the U.S.S.R. Council of Baptists).

No doubt, the material superiority of Soviet atheism is overwhelming, but in the ideological and spiritual field things are different. There Communism is weaker to-day than it was either in the twenties or in the thirties. And the tasks of the professional propagandists of Communist atheism, in particular, are more difficult to-day than those of the League of Godless had ever been. It must be realized that the creation of an outwardly docile and loyal Church, whilst an asset to the State from a short-term point of view, made ideological atheist propaganda much more involved. Many of the old arguments can no longer be used in the present situation. It is no longer possible to identify religion with imperialism. The contribution which the Orthodox Church has made to the war effort and even to the Communist-directed peace campaign of the last few years has been too loudly advertised by the régime to be ignored by atheist propagandists. Nor is it possible to say that the Church is an instrument of the exploiting classes—after all, these classes have been completely destroyed in the Soviet Union. So the anti-religious offensive, if it is to have any sense at all, must shift from the political to the dogmatic sphere. Religion can no longer be attacked at the periphery but only at the centre, it can no longer be fought under ephemeral superficial pretexts, but only for

really fundamental reasons. In other words, the real offensive of Communism against religion is only starting. Its target is no longer a Church with political and class attachments, but religious belief in its purest sense and, as far as Christianity is concerned, the idea of Christ and of the Kingdom of God itself—in Russia, the only idea which still challenges the totalitarian aspirations of Communism.

Most anti-religious propagandists in the Soviet Union are still dodging this real issue. They are not prepared for that purely spiritual struggle. Their pamphlets, articles and books show that they still argue very largely on old lines. They prefer to devote their treatises and lectures to what they call the 'activities of the Vatican' rather than to a refutation of points of theology. But how could it be otherwise? Most spokesmen of Soviet scientific atheism have little knowledge of ancient and modern Christian teaching. Consequently, their intellectual equipment is inferior to that of an increasing number of Christians both inside and outside Russia who have studied the ABC of dialectical materialism and the main trends of Marxist-Leninist thinking. In Russia itself every student of an Orthodox seminary is in possession of all that materialist learning which the thorough indoctrination of the Soviet ten-year school provides.

In assessing the ideological striking power of Soviet atheism we are also faced with the fact that Communism is to-day far less attractive than it was initially. For Communism has lost what for many was the most promising and most lofty part of its original message—internationalism. It was the League of Militant Godless that had stressed the internationalist aspect of Communism perhaps more than any other section of the Communist movement. One of the main contentions of the League was that religion divided mankind whilst Communism united it. As far as Russia was concerned the statement was not entirely untrue. Unlike the religious creeds, which in Russia were largely, though not entirely, identical with national groups, Communism tried to tower over all nationalities never identifying itself fully with any one of them. But towards the end of the thirties the situation changed; the original internationalism was abandoned and Soviet Russia adopted a markedly nationalistic outlook, expressed in an enforced propagation of the Russian language among the minority nationalities, and in the extolling of the heroes of Russian history, including heroes that were simultaneously saints of the Orthodox Church, such as St.

Olga, Alexander Nevsky, and Dmitry Donskoy. In a way, this new line was bound to reduce the ideological cleavage between the Russian Church and the Russian State. It meant a reconciliation with the Church to the extent to which it was Russian but not to the extent to which it was Christian. The re-evaluation of Russian history in a patriotic light was not a move away from atheism—it only meant the abandonment of internationalism. This may have resulted in certain practical advantages for the Soviet régime—advantages that were locally limited to the Russian-speaking areas of the Soviet Union. In the world-wide struggle of ideas, however, it meant defeat and capitulation. To any objective observer universal Christianity must appear as the force that ‘unites the human race’—to use a term of ‘The International’—and not Communism, which has now acquired an outspoken Russian nationalistic flavour.

More recently the Communist atheistic ideology or rather the substitute religion of Communism has suffered a considerable setback by losing certain irrational mystical elements which for many years have increased its attraction. I am referring here to the fact that Communism in its original, abstract, ideological form ceased to exist long ago and became closely tied up with the personality of Stalin to whom god-like qualities have been attributed during almost two decades. Unconsciously at least, this transformation of Communism into Stalinism was done in response to a spiritual need. The Communism of the writings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Iliich Lenin was too empty and bloodless to fire the imagination of the masses. The feelings of the average Russian were probably the same as those which animated the average Frenchman at the time of the French Revolution and which Abbé Gregoire expressed in the following words: ‘Tu m’arraches mon Dieu, donne-moi donc un père plus tendre, un ami plus fidèle, un consolateur plus puissant’.

The French Revolution reacted to this *cri de coeur* by instituting the Cult of Reason and, later, the Cult of the cold and distant ‘Supreme Being’, and the Russian Communist revolution by lifting the dictator to Olympic heights. Stalin became the ‘sun’, ‘the light of the world’, ‘the father’, the ‘saviour’, and ‘the personification of the wisdom of centuries’. This type of propaganda made it easier to spread Communism among oriental peoples both inside and outside the Soviet Union and among the young Soviet generation in need of somebody to look up to and to believe in. And then came

6th March 1953. Stalin died. Once again eternity intervened in history, or, as a Russian peasant put it when watching Stalin lying in state: 'God has his appointed time even for the Godless'. The death of Stalin meant that the ideology which was built on one single man crumbled. It was perhaps not an inevitable process. There was a moment—a very short moment—when it seemed that the dead Stalin could become a more powerful weapon in the hands of the Communists than the living Stalin had ever been. But Stalin's successors refused to make the jump into the metaphysical. They suddenly stopped the more spectacular expressions of the Stalin cult and so created a vacuum in the minds of the younger generation that had been reared in the spirit of adoration for the man who had moulded the destinies of Russia for a quarter of a century.

By questioning the wisdom of the Stalin cult the new rulers of Soviet Russia have opened the doors wide for doubts which might easily affect other parts of the ideological message of Communism. Above all, their greater soberness in ideological matters seems to hasten the final collapse of the Promethean illusion of Communism. The idea that material and sociological achievements could destroy religion and that technical progress could dispose of God has always played a great part in the Russian Communist atheist thinking. At first, certain anti-religious propagandists thought in all earnest that the appearance of the tractor in the Soviet countryside would lead to the promotion of atheism—'Religious service or tractor?' was the characteristic title of a pamphlet published around 1930. The thought that the tractor could become the idol of the rural population was soon dismissed as naïveté by the leaders of the League of the Militant Godless itself. But these leaders did think, nevertheless, that the implementation of the Five-Year-Plan and the collectivization of agriculture would inflict a decisive blow on religion. The system of mutual aid provided by well-equipped collective farms, so Yaroslavsky himself argued, would make the peasant independent of the forces of Nature. He would, therefore, become more conscious of his own strength and throw off religion. This, too, was a miscalculation, and religious life continued in the newly established collective farms. After the war, the promoters of atheism pinned their hopes on the 'Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature' and the so-called 'Big Construction Projects of Communism'—the new power stations and canals. Here was the final proof that man was

master of his destiny and that he was able to move rivers and change the climate. Such and similar claims constituted during the past three years the essence of Soviet propaganda in general and of atheist Communist propaganda in particular. In the months which have followed Stalin's death the Soviet rulers have dropped their boast about the transformation of nature. The big construction works of Communism are hardly ever mentioned, and the building of the largest of all—the canal to cross the Turkmenian desert—has stopped.

Let us not gloat over this temporary retreat. The Communist Prometheus may still carry out some of his plans and projects. If in implementing them he enhances the well-being of the Russian people so much the better. But the implementation of the Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature will not really benefit the cause of Communism unless another and unwritten Stalin plan, the Plan for the Transformation of the Human Mind succeeds as well. To put this plan into effect the Soviet Communists and atheists would have to win the only decisive battle, the battle against the forces of religion. Leaving aside religious convictions and speaking only from an historical point of view, it must be said that they cannot win this battle because they are not great enough. The birth of Christ will continue to be an infinitely larger event in history than the Day of the October Revolution. And the word of the Scriptures will lighten the path of mankind even at a time when the words of the classics of Marxism-Leninism will be forgotten. This is not just a hopeful, rhetorical formula. The Soviet régime itself in the few years of its existence has thrown overboard much of its original heritage and a good deal of the very traditions which it had created and cherished. It has even abandoned some of its revolutionary holidays, such as the Day of the Paris Commune and Lenin Day. So one may well ask how the remaining patrimony of Soviet Communism and atheism will withstand the strain of time?

WALTER KOLARZ.

NOTE

WALTER J. KOLARZ was born in Czechoslovakia. He is a naturalized British subject. As a writer he has largely specialized in problems of Soviet Russia and Communism. He has published the following books: *Myths and Realities in Eastern Europe* (1946); *Russia and Her Colonies* (1952); *How Russia is Ruled* (1953); *Peoples of the Soviet Far East* (1954).

EDITOR.

CHRISTIANS UNDER COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE¹

EASTERN EUROPE is not a homogenous whole. It is made up of different countries with different historical backgrounds and ecclesiastical traditions. Naturally the phases and landmarks in the struggle against religion have been different in each country. The timing has varied, for one thing, and so to some extent has the policy of different Christian bodies in face of persecution. There have also been events peculiar to one country only, the resistance of the Junge Gemeinde in Eastern Germany, for example, or the suppression of the Uniate Church in Rumania. Nevertheless, there is some justification for talking about the area as a whole. One thing these countries have in common: they are all under Communist rule; and the general pattern of Communist methods against religion is everywhere the same.

* * *

In May 1952 a Hungarian journal reported on a discourse given by a Roman Catholic priest at an area meeting of the clergy. This priest had made three points about Church life in his country in present conditions. He had said that the difficulties encountered in carrying out pastoral duties had reached 'apocalyptic proportions'; he had referred to the persecution of bishops, clergy and laity; and he had spoken of those who would make a politician of Christ Himself, adjusting the image of Christ to the present age instead of trying to make our own times conform to Christ. The journal recorded his words with great disapproval and it is to be feared that his frankness did not go unpunished. But his three points summed up all too well conditions for Christians throughout Eastern Europe to-day.

First, what did this Hungarian priest mean when he spoke of 'difficulties encountered in carrying out pastoral duties'? Superficially there is still a certain appearance of normality in the life of the Churches in Eastern and Central Europe. There are still churches open for services, priests are still trained and ordained and the Sacraments are still administered. The State authorities always make the most of these facts to visitors from abroad. But in other, less obvious ways religious life has been and is being steadily undermined. The

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius in 1954.—EDITOR.

State has deprived the Churches of all their other functions and even these which are still permitted, are exercised precariously. In the field of education the Churches are now virtually helpless. Almost all Confessional schools in Eastern Europe have been taken over by the State, or else forced to adopt a secular pattern. Teaching and school activities are all directed towards an atheistic upbringing. One may picture the bewilderment of children presented in some cases almost overnight with new text books, probably new teachers and a new outlook on all the things that they had previously been taught to revere. Formal religious instruction, outbalanced as it is, still figures on the curriculum of the State schools, at least in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. But in actual practice, all kinds of difficulties are put in the way of the parents who wish their children to receive it. The regulations will lay down that religious instruction will not be given unless over sixty per cent of the class opt for it—and children will be encouraged, from the school end at least, to think it mature and enlightened not to opt for it. And woe betide the priest who is caught making any attempt, however, innocent, to recruit them for his classes. Or again, the teacher of religion will be removed from his post and no one appointed to replace him, although the subject will continue to figure in the curriculum. School activities will often be so arranged that they coincide with services or catechism classes—just as, for adults, state holidays or production drives are often timed to clash with religious feasts so as to keep people away from church. In Poland, where the national Church was probably stronger than in any other country at the coming to power of the Communists, and therefore still has some bargaining power, there have been many strong protests against this secularization. A number of pastoral letters from the bishops have been circulated, urging parents, as 'fathers and mothers of children of God' to insist on a Catholic upbringing for their children. But of necessity the Church has fought a losing battle.

In accordance with special Church-State agreements, the churches still possess a number of theological training colleges and seminaries. But the secular authority exercises very close supervision over them and even has its own agents among the staff and students. In the Cyril-Methodius Faculty in Prague, for example, the lecturers in social science—a subject on which great stress is now laid—are outright Communists and exert as much pressure as they can on the students.

Not long ago an official report from Rumania, about the theological institutes there, gave a typical illustration of another type of method. Before 1st September 1952, so the report said, there had been three such institutes with 393 students and seventy-three teachers: now (the report was given in June 1953) there were a few more students—445, but only two institutes and only a little over half the former number of teachers—44 as against 73. The report went on to say that the purpose of this reorganization was to 'improve the work of the institutes'; but from the Church's point of view this does not sound much of an improvement; it can only have resulted in overcrowding and inadequate teaching. Nothing was said of the missing twenty-nine teachers but one may imagine that they were those whom the State authorities regarded as unreliable, and this re-arrangement had supplied a good excuse for dismissing them.

The State has not encroached on the Churches' rights only in the field of education. It has also debarred them from their social work since it has taken over all charities, hospitals and the like which were previously in the hands of the Churches. This was of course a very heavy blow to the religious orders which had in any case been deprived of their land through the nationalization of all Church estates. Many religious houses have since been dissolved and those that are left are subjected to endless interference and restrictions.

The Churches as organizational bodies have less and less power to resist all these measures. Slowly but surely their autonomy is being taken away. The Government departments which have been set up in every country to deal with religious questions are not content with purely formal activity, but keep a stranglehold on all branches of Church administration. All Church appointments now go through the hands of State agencies and new offices cannot be created nor old ones abolished without their consent. Pastoral letters and ecclesiastical pronouncements cannot be published without government permission, nor can Church meetings and conferences of Church officials be held until the government has been notified and its approval obtained. The State even claims the right to re-instate persons under an ecclesiastical ban, while itself freely banning and dismissing Church officials without reference to the wishes of the hierarchy.

Persecution of bishops, priests and laymen, the second point made by the Hungarian priest, is implicit in all these restrictive measures. But of course it has also taken more

direct forms. The Communist authorities are careful never to arrest a Christian simply on the grounds of his Christianity. This would be too blatant a violation of the Constitution which is supposed to guarantee freedom of conscience. But pretexts for arrests are easily found. Here is a typical clause from a Czech law promulgated in October 1948 :

'Whosoever shall misuse his position, spiritual or otherwise, in order to influence political affairs in a manner unfavourable to the popular and democratic constitution of the Republic, shall be punished for this offence by imprisonment with hard labour, lasting from one to twelve months, if no offence requiring a more severe penalty be involved.'

One can imagine that in malicious hands such a clause is a very powerful weapon.

Of course it is true that in parts of Central and Eastern Europe the Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, have in the past tended to play a big part in politics and, at least in the case of the Roman Catholics, often on the conservative wing. It may well be that some of the clergy, persuaded of the supremacy of the Church in temporal matters as well as spiritual, have laid themselves open to attack on the political score. Certainly there will have been some of them who have felt it their duty to resist even measures with no direct bearing on Church affairs such as the setting up of collective farms ; and, in view of the nature of the secular power, it is not surprising that they suffer for it. Also there is no doubt that in, say, Poland or Hungary, some people have rallied round the Church less from religious conviction than because she seemed to be the one remaining focus of opposition to the present régime. But the State's reaction to this has gone far beyond the limits of reason and justice.

We do not know exactly how many priests in Eastern Europe have been dismissed, arrested, imprisoned without trial, or sentenced to many years of penal servitude ; but the number must be very great. Take first the hierarchy. Over the past six years, the heads of most of the main Christian communities have been removed from office by the State. The first to go was Mgr Stepinac, Primate of Croatia, who was sentenced to sixteen years hard labour in 1946. Then in September, 1948, Exarch Stefan, head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church suddenly 'resigned' his office. The circumstances of his resignation are obscure but subsequent events suggest that he had had a disagreement with the

Government on two vital issues. He had resisted the demand that the clergy should take part in secular, government activity and he had asserted vigorously the Church's right to give religious teaching. In February 1949 came the public trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, who was charged with conspiring to overthrow the democratic order. Just over two years later his successor, Archbishop Grosz, was likewise sentenced on a similar charge. In June 1949 the Archbishop of Prague, Archbishop Beran, was deposed. He has never been brought to trial but has been held incommunicado ever since, unable to carry out any functions of his office. In August that same year, the Albanian Government deposed the head of the Orthodox Church in Albania, Archbishop Kissi. Last autumn, Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish Primate, was suspended from office. In Rumania the Orthodox Patriarch has not been molested simply because he co-operates closely with the State. In fact Government manoeuvres helped to put him into office when Patriarch Nikodim died in 1948.

The public trial of Cardinal Mindszenty was only the first of many public trials intended to discredit the Churches and their leaders. Many of the charges against bishops and priests have been absurd and humiliating—they have been accused of swindling with currency or embezzling funds, or in some cases even of committing murders. Above all the governments in every country have claimed to have discovered huge conspiracies of 'spies and terrorists' said to be in the pay of the Vatican and 'its American bosses'. In Czechoslovakia, in the course of 1950 for example, there were two big trials of bishops charged with high treason and espionage in which the mildest sentence passed was to fifteen years' imprisonment. It was a trial on the same lines of another bishop, Bishop Kaczmarek of Kielce, who had already been in prison for nearly three years which helped to precipitate the arrest of Cardinal Wyszynski in Poland; shortly before he was deposed the Cardinal had made an outspoken statement denouncing the methods and conclusions of this trial. Very great publicity was given to the trial of members of the entourage of the bishop of Cracow in January 1953. It lasted five days and while it was going on groups of priests supporting the government were encouraged to meet to abuse the defendants calling them enemies of the people's Poland and the Polish Church. An interview with one priest who had attended the trial was broadcast over Warsaw radio to try and persuade

people that there were 'authentic proofs' of the war-mongering and espionage activity of the accused and that the trial had nothing to do with religious persecution.

Protestants have suffered in the same way. In Hungary, in November 1948, the senior Lutheran bishop, Bishop Ordass, was sentenced on currency charges. There was also the famous trial in 1949 of the fifteen Bulgarian pastors charged with espionage and illegal currency dealings. In July last year there was a trial of Baptist leaders in Czechoslovakia. They too were charged with high treason and espionage; in this case their crimes were said to have been committed on behalf of the World Baptist Centre and the World Council of Churches. The accused were alleged to have received instructions from America to 'undermine the confidence of believers in the people's democratic régime and to inculcate in them hatred of the Soviet Union'.

Some of the trials of less prominent people are more revealing of actual conditions. Reading between the lines of the official indictments, distorted and unlikely as they are, one gets a glimpse of the underground life that the Churches are forced to lead. There were the ten tried in Brno in Czechoslovakia in June 1952. Two were Mother Superiors, said to have allowed their convents to be used as hiding places and to have helped to organize border crossings. The main crime of some of the others was their membership of a Catholic scouting organization, though to make this appear worse it was added that they had shot a member of their group who tried to leave them. As a result of this trial, two death sentences were passed and the mildest penalty was fourteen years' imprisonment. The same autumn, a group of Catholics, priests and laymen, were tried in Bulgaria for their alleged participation in a subversive organization. They were accused amongst other things of using churches as a refuge for outlaws wanted by the authorities. More suggestive still was the account of the trial of a Czech priest, a teacher of religion in several secondary and grammar schools. He was charged with misusing the lessons 'to poison the children's minds with subversive inventions and slanders'. It was said that he had forbidden the children to join voluntary work brigades or go to see certain (Communist) films, and that he had read to them 'inflammatory pastoral letters'. The account of his activities also contained the following accusation: 'He tried to excuse the detestable crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Korea to his pupils, and on being asked by a thirteen-year old

"Pioneer" whether it was possible to love even the American fascists who were engaged in germ warfare and the murdering of innocent children, this obedient servant of the war-mongers replied in the affirmative.' These are only a few examples and taken from a limited source—the government press and broadcasts of the countries concerned. If the full story of these years is ever told we shall certainly hear of countless other cases.

Nor is direct persecution by any means confined to these more spectacular forms—arrests and trials. A long and very dignified letter of protest which the Polish Episcopate sent to the Polish President in September 1950 (that is over three years ago when conditions were probably better than they are now), contained the following passage:

'The clergy and the Episcopate painfully feel the grievous system of torment through surveillance, continual summonses to attend at security bureaux, public and local administrative offices and the like. Many priests are taken straight from the churches, from the confessional, from the midst of a group of children awaiting confession, to the amazement and alarm of the faithful. This is a strange novelty in our life, because heretofore the priests have had little in common with the Penal Code. Further the surveillance does not fail to embrace the bishops who, during their pastoral travels, at congresses and visitations are surrounded by dozens of agents making themselves annoyingly felt.'

The letter added also:

'Many priests are recruited by oppressive means for intelligence work.'

This must mean that priests are forced to tell the authorities the names of these who come to church, or are even forced to violate the secrecy of the confessional.

Nor must one forget the peculiar trials of the laity. They must be faced with constant dilemmas of conscience. Only the humblest can with impunity have their children baptized, be married in church or attend church services. Known religious sympathies are an almost insuperable obstacle to a good career. There is particular hardship here for young people. If they have not been members of the Communist Youth League at school it may be impossible for them to get any higher education or choose anything but the most menial profession. An additional burden on the laity is the knowledge that their priest, voluntarily or involuntarily, may

be a Communist agent. And, of course, they are subjected to an unremitting bombardment of anti-religious propaganda.

If we knew the facts more fully, we might find that all these things, painful and undesirable though they are, have served to purify the Churches and give a new intensity to their spiritual life. But there is another group of measures which seem to me the most diabolical of all. These are the measures which aim at secularizing and watering down the faith. Attempts to 'adapt the image of Christ to the present age', the third point made by that priest in Hungary, are fostered inside the Churches themselves, creating schism and confusion. As a first step towards eradicating religion altogether, the Communist Governments are trying to set up self-contained and docile Churches whose primary allegiance will be a national one. This lies behind the oath of loyalty to the State which bishops and priests in all these countries now have to take.² It lies too behind the campaign to vilify the Vatican, for no Communist state can tolerate the allegiance of Roman Catholics to a supra-national authority. At the same time, in each country the State is demanding from the Churches more and more positive support for government policies. This applies particularly, at the present stage, to the Communist-sponsored 'peace campaign'. It is a campaign which aims at a spurious peace and is at best a political manoeuvre, but the Churches are compelled to join in. Ecclesiastical leaders are induced to serve on so-called 'peace committees' and organize 'peace conferences' on the familiar lines within their own communities. Their attitude to this question has even been made a test of loyalty to the régime. Many priests who refused to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal in 1950 were removed from office.

The outlines of the plan to make government tools of the Churches are probably clearest of all in Rumania where the

² 'I take the solemn oath of loyalty to the Polish People's Republic and her Government. I promise to do everything for the development of the Polish Peoples' Republic and for the furtherance of her power and security. I shall make every effort to ensure that in their sacerdotal activities, the clergy under me in accordance with their civic duties, appeal to the faithful to obey the law and the State authorities and intensify their work on the development of the national economy and the improvement of the nation's welfare. I promise not to undertake anything which might be contrary to the interests of the Polish People's Republic or threaten the safety or integrity of her frontiers. Having the good of the State and its interests in mind I shall endeavour to avert from it any dangers I may know to be threatening.'

(Text of the Oath which Polish Bishops were required to take in December 1953.)

present Orthodox patriarch seems only too ready to further the State's purposes. In pastoral letters clergy and faithful have been urged to work on the land to select the best seeds and use the most modern tools. Attention has been drawn in them to the importance of such events as the adoption of the new Rumanian Constitution or the appointment of Mr Gheorghiu-Dej as Prime Minister. As the Journal of the Rumanian Patriarchate puts it, the patriarch has 'lost no opportunity of directing the Church on the road of loyalty towards the people's democratic State'.

A programme has been laid down for what the Communists would call the 're-education' of the clergy. Eventually they will all have to attend occasional two-month indoctrination courses. But for the moment these are given only to selected persons who then return to positions of authority and organize monthly clergy meetings. The themes for these meetings are laid down centrally and range from questions of Church life to the peace movement or the alleged evil doings of the Vatican. Any priest who three times running fails to attend may lose his living.

There is a similar scheme for the monasteries. A report made to the Rumanian Church Assembly held in June last year claimed that 'hard work had been done to raise the cultural and spiritual level' of Rumanian monks and nuns. Every Sunday afternoon lectures are delivered on religious topics and home and international affairs; or articles will be read and studied from the Journal of the Rumanian Patriarchate. This may sound harmless enough until one reflects how world events are reported in the Communist sphere, or, indeed, what kind of articles sometimes appear in the Journal. For example the Christmas message sent out to Rumanian Orthodox Christians by the head of their Church in 1952, and no doubt studied in the Rumanian monasteries was a strange attempt at a synthesis between the marxist doctrine of the class war and the Christian gospel. Christ came to earth, this letter said, for the salvation of the poor. It was the poor, the workers who followed the new road He opened to them, and 'only those who lived in luxury and acquired their riches by oppressing and robbing the people, rose against Him from the day of His birth to the day of His crucifixion'. The letter then spoke of Herod and his evil design to slay the Divine Child and went on to talk of his successors, 'the Herods of our time, the masters of the world's wealth headed by the wealthy Americans'. It ended with an

appeal to the faithful to use the anniversary of the Lord's birth for 'gathering invincible strength to defend peace against those who threaten it'.

In Bulgaria, where the Orthodox leaders are still genuine churchmen, things have not gone so far; nevertheless, the government has imposed much secular activity on the Church there, too. The Law concerning churches which was passed in 1949 declares that 'the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is in form, substance and spirit a People's Democratic Church'. The lower clergy have no choice but to belong to the Bulgarian Priests' Association which transmits to them the government's requirements. Not long ago a broadcast over Sofia Radio claimed that many Bulgarian priests were taking an active part in local government organs, local peace committees and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship societies. Over 600—that is about one fifth of their total number—were said to be members of agricultural co-operatives.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe the spearhead of this secularizing movement have been small bands of pro-government priests. The national peace committee in each country has its priests' section the members of which lend full support not only to the peace campaign, but also to other, seasonal campaigns of government home and foreign policy. For example, while the Korean war was still in progress, some priests in Czechoslovakia were reported to have voted one per cent of their salaries to Korea. Or, in 1952, when the French Communist leader, Duclos, was arrested in Paris, two Church leaders in Hungary demanded his release 'in the name of Christianity, justice and human rights'.

As far as the Roman Catholic groups of 'peace priests' are concerned, their original nucleus seems to have consisted of renegades and ex-communicates. Until its voice was silenced, the Catholic episcopate in each country condemned their activities as schismatic and fraudulent. However, there must have been others, particularly I think among the Protestants, who entered on a path of collaboration in good faith, believing that that was how they could best serve the Church. Others again no doubt entered this path under great pressure. In any case the question of collaborating priests is not a simple one, and not one on which we outside are in a position to pass judgement. However, there can be no doubt that among them there are unscrupulous and un-Christian elements. The periodicals which they publish, sometimes put the Scriptures to strange use. Here are two extracts from different

issues of the fortnightly of the Catholic Priests Peace Committee in Hungary, a publication which bears the title *The Cross* :

'The slogan of the National Peace Council is : Peace, Work, Prosperity. These three principles must not be kept quiet for if they were kept quiet, the very stones would cry out'.

'We Christians, people with faith, priests and believers alike are delighted to state that Stalin's personality' (this was written while Stalin was still alive), 'the way he served his ideals, men, truth, and his humaneness correspond on the whole with the most noble and Christ-like tendencies of our religion and doctrines and with our understanding and service of men in the spirit of the Gospel'.

Obviously such statements are not a danger to the faithful ; on the contrary they only help to discredit the peace priests' movement. The danger lies rather in the fact that those liable to make such statements are being given positions of leadership in the Church. It is they who control the religious press, and they whom the governments contrive to appoint as vicars general, who deputize for the bishops, or as directors of episcopal offices, who supervise the bishop's correspondence. From these positions they can see to it that pastoral exhortations are issued and the dioceses run as the governments require. In reward for their services, the governments have awarded state decorations to many of the 'peace priests' and—which is much more subtle—have even at their request released other priests and religious who were under arrest.

Nevertheless, they have not been making much headway with their fellow countrymen. Where the régime is hated their activities are bound to be hated too. And within the Churches themselves, they meet with constant passive resistance. The Hungarian fortnightly quoted above recently published a report on the progress of deanery meetings. At these the 'peace priests' now usually preside and supervise the agenda. The report said that on the whole attendance had been satisfactory although in one district a great number of young priests had failed to appear or had left 'urgently' before the speech on the peace movement. It said there had been less 'obstinate silence' and fewer 'manifestations of boredom'. However, there had also been setbacks : 'We have observed that at some meetings where superior authorities were absent, the peace subject was passed over as quickly as possible with remarks like "we agree with everything" or,



By courtesy of Arrigo Azupard, Malta



By courtesy of Arrigo Azopardo, Malta

"the speech was so perfect that it would be a pity to spoil it with any kind of remark".

Then the article went on:

' . . . Our chief concern will be to deal with young priests . . . The younger ones sit silent, play a very small role in making speeches or joining in debates, and if they do, it is worse than if they do not . . . A lot of experience and patient persuasion are required to teach these "heroes of the catacombs", these pseudo-martyrs, at least some political outlook.'

That makes hopeful reading.

But in the last resort we know very little both about the witness of Christians in Eastern Europe and about the trials and temptations of those who fall by the way. Perhaps we should try to imagine more effectively the day-to-day life of a Christian in these conditions. Then we should be better able to share their sufferings and their victories and our prayer would be more urgent and more real.

ELISABETH HUNKIN.

NOTE

Elisabeth Hunkin, who studied Russian at Cambridge, spent two years in Moscow after the war. She became particularly interested in the life of the religious bodies under Communism and has since made a close study of Communist policy towards the Churches in all the countries of the Soviet sphere.—EDITOR.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The visit of Archbishop Buchko, the Ukrainian Exarch for Western Europe, to Malta, on the occasion of public prayers held for the 'Church of Silence'.

I

The archbishop addressing the congregation in the Greek Catholic church at Valletta.

2

The archbishop walking in a procession with Papas George Schiro.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The following extract from a letter of an Anglican rector in a country parish will, we hope, be of interest and may evoke a correspondence.—THE EDITOR.

‘DEAR FATHER,

The total population of this parish is about 400. The church is large (mainly Norman) and no other religious body possesses a place of worship inside the parish boundaries.

When I came here, just over two years ago, I found that all weekday services had been discontinued for years and that, on Sundays, there were only two services—a Mass at 8 a.m., attended by the Rector and his wife, and Evensong at 6.30 p.m., at which there were seldom more than six persons present. My predecessors were (and still are) held in high regard in the parish, there was no objection to anything they did in the church and yet, despite their popularity, there was no religious response in the parish. Their labours are bearing some fruit now—we managed to secure congregations for the Holy Week ceremonies this year and had forty communicants on Easter Day—but fully threequarters of the parishioners still do not even make occasional appearances in church.

The people are very friendly and hospitable. Their original religious affiliations (or those of their parents) were Anglican, Evangelical, Baptist and Methodist, half-a-dozen Anglo-Catholics, two Greek Orthodox and one Roman Catholic. I have not found an atheist or an agnostic in the whole parish. The positive article in their creed is to attempt to live as good a life as possible (which can be interpreted to mean as good as the generality of other people), but they have not the faintest idea of the necessity of the Church or the sacraments. “One can be as good a Christian without going to church as any who go there”, expresses the usual view.

Obviously, the teaching of the full Catholic Faith is essential to the solution of the problem here and there is some evidence of its being effective. Some of my most faithful converts were originally Baptists. But the fact remains that, if I were a Roman priest, I would simply be left severely alone. As an Anglican, I can teach the whole Faith, including the papal supremacy and, though it takes time, it is slowly and gradually assimilated. I think there is an important consideration here for, after all is said and done, we are concerned for the

conversion of England and, if the Anglican Church (or part of it) can best do the work, it would appear to be wiser to preserve its identity in any reunion with the Holy See which might eventuate, rather than to sacrifice it by absorption into the English Roman Church.'

Yours,

AN ANGLICAN PAPALIST.

When it was pointed out that in most parishes there was also a Catholic priest, the rector commented in another letter :

'It is true, as you say, that there is a Roman priest in most parishes. In the eyes of most Anglicans and most Protestants, however, he represents a foreign church with strange services. His religion is a completely *new* religion.

The Prayer Book, however, presents an accustomed faith and, as it can be interpreted in a Catholic sense, the transition to the acceptance of the Faith is not noticed.'

This discloses a pitiable state of things. And, yet, with great patience there seems to be some hope for encouragement. But have we no other answer than absorption ?

EDITOR.

DOCUMENTATION

In our last issue *The Transcendent Unity of Religions* by Frithjof Schuon was reviewed.

Our reviewer, quite rightly, called attention to those parts of the book which dealt with the traditions of the Eastern Churches and there was much to be said on this point. He did not, however, make it clear that the author is an eclectic and a disciple of René Guénon. This being so we think it only fair to our readers to stress this point. M. Schuon himself in the preface says that he has willingly but also of necessity borrowed from the books of René Guénon and that his book will help those who are interested to understand the books of René Guénon.

By the kind permission of the Editor of Editions du Seuil we are able to give the comment of Père Jean Daniélou on René Guénon, and this may equally be applied to M. Schuon without belittling the remarks of our reviewer.

Most of the following chapter has been translated and we thank the translator.

THE EDITOR.

"THE GREATNESS AND DEFICIENCY
OF RENÉ GUÉNON"

(Translation of Part I, chap. ix, of *Essai sur le Mystère de l'Histoire* by Jean Daniélou; Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1953)

Pp. 120-126.

"The death of René Guénon has drawn attention to a body of work which must be considered one of the most singular of our times. It is constituted so completely outside the modern mentality, it shocks so violently the most inveterate habits of thought, that its presence is like that of a foreign body in the intellectual world of to-day. Yet it is precisely the mark of Guénon's greatness, that he has been able to disengage himself from the prejudices of his own day, and to elaborate his work in solitude with so inflexible a rigour. What is certain, is that he touches on the most essential problems of these times: that of our technical civilization and its elements of menace: that of the organization of our economic and political society. He has achieved this in a manner at the same time irritating and profound, yet which can leave no one indifferent. His work embodies a portion of the truth. It bears also the marks of a limitation which render it unacceptable to a Christian.

One of the primary truths of Guénon's work is in his rehabilitation of the symbolic as against the scientific mode of knowledge. It is on this point perhaps, more than on any other, that he shocks the present-day mentality. To a man formed in the positive methods of chemistry or astronomy a return to alchemy and astrology seems an absurdity. Guénon, however, believes that it is the entire modern mind that is engaged (p. 121) in an immense deviation, and that there is more of essential truth in astrology with all its *naïvetés*, than in astronomy with all its technique. What is here in question is really a difference of plane. All the scientific culture in the world can but enlarge the dimensions of the cage in which man is found to be trapped: it cannot help him to get out of it. Symbolic intuition, on the contrary, for which the realities of the material world enable us to grasp another reality which surpasses them, has a more vital value.

Let our meaning be quite clear: there is no question, for Guénon, of a return to astrology and alchemy under their vulgar, pseudo-scientific forms. It is a question, rather, of understanding that the stars or the metals concern us more deeply by reason of their significations, than by the material

use we can make of them, or by the elements of their composition. In one of the most beautiful pages of *Roi du Monde*, Guénon speaks of the emerald fallen from the brow of Lucifer, out of which was sculptured the Grail. An emerald may be considered from the point of view of its commercial value, as by the merchant or collector who keeps it in a strong-box. It can be considered according to its material properties, as by the chemist. But the deepest reality of the emerald is the signification of its colour and its hardness : and it is this that is grasped by the alchemist.

As much can be said of the other domains : Geometry and mathematics are the objects of a similar criterion. Geometric figures are important not only because of their numerical relations, they have also a (p. 122) qualitative value, and they are at the origin of all the forms of symbolic figuration. Among these forms, Guénon devotes particular attention to the symbolism of the cross. We shall have to return to this. The same must be said of mathematics. Side by side with a science of numbers there is a symbolism of numbers. Guénon remarks that it is not without reason that numbers 7, or 40, play so notable a role in biblical religion. They constitute a real language. And what gives the matter its interest, is that this language is not merely conventional and arbitrary : it rests upon the natural properties of numbers, as is the case for the figures of geometry or the stellar groups.

This leads us to an important remark : it is that different traditions present us with the same, or with closely neighbouring, symbols. To what should this permanence be attributed ? The conception of a positive transmission starting from a common origin seems hardly acceptable. Guénon seems perhaps to sustain this in some places : it is one of the more contestable points of his conception. It is much more satisfying to see therein, with Mircea Eliade, the fact that symbols have their foundation in the nature itself of the visible realities and of the human mind, seeing that the latter gives the same significations spontaneously to the same objects. There is thus a universal, natural symbolism, to which the various traditions bear witness. Yet it remains true that this symbolism is not of a fixed nature. Symbols are realities living within the collective consciousness. There is a whole world here, which we have hardly begun to explore.

Within this traditional symbolism, Guénon would wish to see that of Christianity included. He relates the symbolism of the cross in India with that of Christendom. He remarks that

the number of the twelve apostles witnesses to an importance ascribed to the same number elsewhere, in the signs of the zodiac. The white garment of the pope testifies to a value attaching to that colour, which is found in all religions. There are, thus certain analogies, and these lead Guénon to see in Christianity one of the forms of a primordial tradition, and to investigate in Christianity that which it seems to possess in common with other traditions. It is here that we feel no longer able to follow him. Christianity recognizes perfectly the existence of a natural symbolism which is related to cosmic religion, that is to say to that revelation of God through the veils of the (p. 123) visible world which is accessible to all men . . .

But, very clearly, Christianity is something else besides. It is an irruption of God into history, a radically new event. If the cross has such importance for it, this is not primarily on account of its symbolic value, but because it is a gibbet composed of two pieces of wood, upon which Christ was put to death. It is this historic fact which ranks first. As this gibbet has more or less the form of a cross, the liturgy has afterwards invested it with all the natural symbolism of the cross, as signifying the four dimensions, or the axis of the world. It has marked thereby that the cross of Jesus Christ bears the meaning of a universal redemption. But such symbolisms are secondary by relation to the historic facts. It is the importance of Christianity as absolute novelty that Guénon misses entirely.

Yet this is not astonishing, since the condemnation of all history is an essential part of his thought. And this is the second point upon which we have to consider him, and upon which what is excellent and what is detestable are so strangely mingled in his work. Let us speak first of what is excellent. We feel a deep satisfaction when we see Guénon condemning with unequalled violence the modern ideologies of progress, evolution and historicism. We are at one with him in finding absurd the belief that the development of science can lead to the qualitative transformation of humanity. Guénon goes even further, and sees therein the mark of a decadence. Since the sixteenth century this decadence has become accentuated. We touch here upon a grave problem. Science (as such and in itself, and not only in the culpable uses made of it) in the measure in which it assumes a disproportionate importance by relation to wisdom, will it not, inevitably, lead the world into catastrophe? If Guénon's solution should seem radical,

it remains, nevertheless, that the question cannot be resolved in the sense of any facile optimism.

One must recognize here again, all the import of the courageous criticism which Guénon levels against the most ingrained and mischievous of the prejudices of the modern world. By expecting any kind of salvation from science, man turns himself away from the only true means of salvation. It is those who foster this illusion in him (p. 124) whether they be Marxists or liberals, who are the responsible agents of the misery of the modern world. It is true that the notions of scientific progress, of biologic evolution, are denuded of all spiritual significance. It is true that the hypertrophy of scientific thought turns modern man away from the intuition of metaphysical values. It is true, upon the natural plane, that the development of time brings to man nothing of the essential—for the essential consists in the principles of metaphysics, and these are unchangeable.

Within the natural order there is no new emergence of anything essential. But it is otherwise upon the Christian plane. Here indeed, we are in the presence of events which bring about a qualitative change in human existence, and constitute an absolute novelty. One has only to re-read St Paul to see how frequently the terms "new creation", "new man" return with him. Thus, there are elements here which anterior tradition has not possessed—a spiritual advance. This advance corresponds to the passage from the knowledge of God by the visible world to the revelation of His intimate life in Jesus Christ. Consequently here alone, but *here* in the strongest sense of the term, is history. And it is this which Guénon has not seen. For him, Christianity is no privileged reality. That he became in the end a Moslem is the standing proof of it.

This brings us to the last aspect of his thought: that which concerns the relations of science, wisdom and faith. Here again the positive contribution is the first to strike one. Against modern relativism and pragmatism, Guénon restores the validity of speculative thought, insisting both upon its importance and its value. The supreme reality is none other than the world of the eternal ideas, of which sensible things are but the reflection. The highest activity of man is the intuition of these ideas—these essences. Guénon here rediscovers Platonic contemplation. It is only the knowledge of these eternal truths that can enable human affairs to be organized and ordered with wisdom. Those who possess

this knowledge constitute the true spiritual authority. It will be seen that Guénon restores a hierarchic conception of society, and comes thus into a new collision with modern dogma; this time, of democracy and universal suffrage. Spiritual authority is constituted by those who possess the tradition. It subsists eminently in "the king of the world", who is the ideal archetype of it. It is visibly incarnated (p. 125) in certain personages. The Sovereign Pontiff represents for Guénon, in this regard, one of these authorities. It is for such reason that this is one of the aspects of Catholicism which he most defends, while seeing in Protestantism a perversion of authentic Christianity.

But what is the tradition of which the spiritual authorities are the depositaries: it is, literally, the tradition of the intellectual principles. These principles are, above all, those of the philosophy of India, of the Vedanta, to which Guénon consecrated his first work. This is the supreme truth. Even on the philosophic plane alone, this is already enough to awaken disquiet. For the philosophy of India leaves us in uncertainty upon data so essential as the absolute transcendence of God, personal immortality, the creation. But more still what emerges from this, which is that the higher truth is of the philosophic order. Religions, and in particular the great Mediterranean monotheisms, are a sort of compromise between the pure metaphysical truth and the affective needs of men, to whom mysticisms and liturgies are a necessity. It is this reversal of the relation which unites metaphysics and revelation which is the weakness, the principle error of Guénon's work.

It is here, too, that the point of insertion is seen of the problem—so important in that work—of esoterism. One can understand by this word two things absolutely distinct. On the one hand, one can consider, within a given religion, that there are more mysterious aspects which cannot be imprudently delivered to beginners. Such was the explanation of the Song of Songs in Judaism; such, in Catholicism, the mystical "ways". But there is no question of other and different doctrines: only that of a deeper understanding of the same reality. For St Paul, gnosis is but a prolongation of faith. Nothing is more opposed to Christianity than a distinction of Christians as of first and second circles. It is baptism which constitutes initiation, and the baptized knows all that he has to know. He will have to receive no second initiation into any secret sense of rites and dogmas.

In fact, esoterism has a second sense, which is that which

Guénon himself gives to it. It consists in the assertion that, beyond the diversity of religions, there is a hidden doctrine which is common to all and of which the knowledge is imparted by initiation. It is this which we have found already in the false gnosis of the (p. 126) first Christian centuries. Here vulgar knowledge and superior knowledge have a different object. There is a secret doctrine which is other than the exoteric, and this secret doctrine is not Christianity as taught by the catechism. It is another doctrine of which the dogmas are a symbolic transcription, but into which one must be initiated in order to know the hidden sense. It is here precisely that the opposition of exoterism and esoterism meets that of religion and wisdom. And it is wisdom alone which truly confers salvation.

One sees why the work of Guénon is at the same time so important and so deceptive. It attracts us because it speaks of that which seems to us truly interesting. It attracts us because Guenon has denounced with courage those errors of which we believe, with him, that they are the deepest sources of the decadence of the present world. But if we pass to his positive thought, it appears to us to be radically incompatible with Christianity. It evacuates, in fact, that which is the content itself of Christianity—the affirmation of the absolutely privileged character of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE BYZANTINE RITE IN THE UKRAINE

The Ukraine was the first victim of the hatred of the Communists against the Catholic Church. The struggle with the Ukrainian Catholics began in 1945 to 1946 and reached its climax in 1951 when Bishop Hojdytch was sentenced and imprisoned for life. The Ukrainian Catholics, those living in the Ukraine itself, number 4,750,000, or approximately 12 per cent of the population. The present Bolshevik régime is terrible. The following information gives an idea of the extremely bad state of the Catholics of the Ukraine.

His Grace, the metropolitan of Halytch and archbishop of Lviv, Mgr Josyf Slipyi, was sentenced to deportation to Workuta in Siberia, later he was transferred to Potmar. Having served eight years, his prison sentence was then increased to seventeen years. Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv died in prison in 1946. Bishop Josaphat

Kotsylovskiy of Peremyshl died in prison in 1947. Bishop Iwan Latyshevskiy, auxiliary bishop of Peremyshl, is probably dead by now. Bishop Theodore Romza of Uzhorod and Mukachiv, was deliberately run down by an army lorry and beaten to death with iron bars: he died 1st November 1947. Bishop Paul Hojdytch of Priashiv has been condemned to life imprisonment since 15th January 1951: he is probably dead now. Bishop Basil Hopko, auxiliary bishop of Priashiv, has been interned in a concentration camp in Siberia. Bishop Niceta Budka, auxiliary bishop of Lviv, has been condemned to forced labour in Siberia. Mgr Nicolas Charnetskiy, the apostolic visitor for Volhynia, has been condemned to forced labour in Siberia. Mgr Peter Werhun, the apostolic visitor for the Ukrainians living in Germany has been deported to Siberia. Mgr Alexander Malynowskyi, apostolic administrator of Sianik, is now the vicar general for the Ukrainians in Great Britain. The only bishop free to perform his episcopal duties is his Grace, Archbishop Iwan Buchko, the apostolic visitor for the Ukrainian Catholics living in Europe: he resides in Rome.

Priests arrested, expelled, or sent to Siberia, number 2,950. Monks arrested, deported, or expelled from their monasteries amount to 520. Over a thousand nuns have been forced by the conditions to leave their convents. 3,040 parishes have been liquidated; 4,440 churches broken up or taken over by the Communist State-sponsored Church. All the schools have become atheistic and marxist. The Catholic Press and Catholic organizations have been closed down and suppressed. There were three mass deportations of the Ukrainians into Siberia. Many thousands have died in the slave labour camps. Now there is only a little contact with the outside world.

PROFESSOR H. HOLUBOWYCZ, M.A.

41 MacLagan Street,

Stoke-on-Trent,

Staffs.

We specialize in books on the Eastern Churches, both NEW and Out of Print. We issue booklists of available NEW items. We are always ready to purchase used books on this subject.

DUCKETT, 140 Strand, London, W.C.2

NEWS AND COMMENTS

E.C.Q. Reprint No. 3—*The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Byzantine Liturgical Year* is now ready, 2s. 6d. each copy.

* * * *

Istina. This is a new review following upon *Russie et Chrétiente*, published from 25 Boul. D'Auteuil, Boulogne-sur-Seine, France. Pére Dumont is now not only considering Russia but all the Orthodox Churches and also the Œcumenical Movement.

* * * *

St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly. This is published from the Orthodox Theological Seminary, New York. The review started in 1952. We will comment on this quarterly and on *Istina* in a future issue, we wish them both all success and blessings.

* * * *

The Rev. Thomas Arayathinal, M.O.L., a priest of the Malabar rite has brought out a short history of Irappuzhai Church. It is an interesting pamphlet.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Churches of Europe under Communist Governments. (Church Information Board, 1954) 2s.

This survey was prepared by the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations and was submitted to the session of the Anglican Church Assembly in February 1954. It illustrates the attitude of Communism towards the Christian faith by a few examples, particularly those of the Russian and Rumanian Orthodox Churches, the case of the Uniats of Rumania, the development of the conflict between Church and State in Czechoslovakia and the fate of the Protestant Church in the Soviet Zone of Germany. A considerable amount of well-selected and reliable material has been compressed into a short space and is presented in an interesting and on the whole fair way. There are a few factual points of detail on which one might disagree with the author. For instance, it is difficult to see what relevance 'political pressure and unpleasant incidents' of the sixteenth century have as a justification of the enforced merger between the Uniats and Orthodox that took place in 1946 under the patronage of the Soviet Police

Ministry (p. 5). The statement that one million Czech Roman Catholics separated themselves from their Church after the First World War to join a nationalist 'Church' is misleading without further qualification (p. 20). Many of those who did so were lapsed Catholics or even agnostics who entered the so-called Czechoslovak Church for purely political reasons. Also the author of the survey seems to have underrated the impact of the oppressive weight of Communism on the various Christian communities in Eastern Europe. He believes that no 'German Christians' have emerged in any communist country, meaning no group that altered Christian teaching in accordance with the official doctrine of the régime (p. 32). This is contradicted by the outright blasphemous Bible interpretations emanating from both the pro-Communist Patriarch of the Rumanian Orthodox Church and certain Hungarian 'Peace Priests'. However, this should not detract from the value of the survey as a whole, and one must wholeheartedly agree with its conclusion that Christians who live under Communist Government have a claim on the prayers of their fellow Christians throughout the world and that this work of prayer is a matter wherein the divisions need not be considered which still unhappily keep Christians apart.

W.K.

Le mouvement slavophile à la veille de la révolution: Dmitri A. Khomiakov by Albert Gratieux, followed by the treatise of A. S. Khomiakov, 'L'Eglise est Une', translated by Roger Tandonnet, s.j., with an introduction by Father Yves M.-J. Congar, o.p.: *Collection Unam Sanctam*, Pp. 246. (Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1953). Paper.

'Vos prédécesseurs se sont intéressés à ceux auxquels ils ont voulu se réunir, mais vous avez commencé par les aimer.' These words of Dmitri Alexeievitch Khomiakov to the late Canon Gratieux reveal the quality of this book. It will serve the cause of reunion as a sympathetic study of the last phase of Slavophil thought in Russia, but much more as a record of the deep friendship of a French Catholic priest and the son of Alexis Khomiakov. The narrative with letters which forms the greater part of the book testifies to the truth that true reunion between East and West is not to be hoped for primarily either at the level of Church politics, by agreements on formulas, or by the Catholics seeking individual conversions, but by Orthodox and Catholics working to restore organic charity at the personal level. 'Il me semblait plus utile', wrote

Gratieux, 'de rapprocher d'abord les esprits et les coeurs par une compréhension réciproque et une charité vraie. Le jour où l'on s'aimera assez pour désirer l'union, la formule viendra d'elle-même'.

This first part is the more immediately interesting to the general reader. It is followed by a closer study of D. A. Khomiakov's religious and political articles which is perhaps of more specialized, but certainly not less, interest. Yet it is clear that Khomiakov, as his father's son and a true member of the old Russian *Intelligentsia*, expressed himself most characteristically in conversation, and therefore also in letters. Valuable as the teaching of these articles is (especially of the essay on the slogan 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality'), the letters contain the more memorable statement of his thought.

The 'essai de catéchèse ecclésiologique', 'L'Eglise est Une', by Alexis S. Khomiakov, is added, in the translation by which Father Tandonnet has helped to complete the intention of Canon Gratieux. This small work is already available in English.¹ It is a work of positive ecclesiology, concise and pithy. The Western reader rejoices to see much on the internal rule of the Holy Ghost, the Sacraments, the organic unity of the faithful and much else that, despite differences, expresses the very essence of his own faith. Nevertheless, the work leaves the mind uneasy about Khomiakov's use of the word 'church'; if it is not equivocal between the abstract idea and the concrete reality, it is at least obscure. He speaks, no doubt, of the Church of his own authentic experience; the rest are the 'separated churches'. But even when the Catholic reader has settled down in the realization that the picture of himself here sketched is what he looks like from over there, he cannot help wondering what an essay with this name is up to, when it has nothing to say about the Great Church of East and West together not its restoration as one. If 'the Church' in this essay is an abstract idea, the whole thing needs bringing firmly down to earth. Solovyov and Berdyaev² similarly criticized the way the Slavophiles, especially Aksakov, talked about Russia.

These remarks are applied, of course, only to this small work taken in isolation, and not to Alexis Khomiakov's thought as a whole. But even if any charge of provincialism or unreality could be brought against his ecclesiological

¹ *The Church is One*, introduction by Dr Nicholas Zernov, S.P.C.K., 1948.

² Cf. e.g. Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*, p. 43-4.

thought, it could not against that of his son as revealed in these letters.

Dmitri Alexeievitch was born in 1841. Like his father, his first love, indeed his whole love, was for the Orthodox Church; after that, he devoted his life to editing his father's works and developing and spreading his views. Some of the later Slavophiles have been charged with having a wooden and doctrinaire attitude to their ideas and tending to a narrow nationalism; but Dmitri Alexeievitch, if he did not attain to his father's stature as an original thinker, was far from narrowness. Even on the Western Church his published comments have less than his father's asperity; but we must remember that the Russian censorship in the times of the elder Khomiakov made it very hard to publish any vigorous positive work on the Church, and one of the few ways of getting such writing past the censors was to take refuge under the guise of anti-Catholic controversy. When the Catholic reader has understood this, he can find much to sympathize with and to take to his heart, precisely as Canon Gratieux did.

This great irenic student, who was born in 1874 and died in 1951, made the Russians rejoice and marvel at his understanding for them. The fruits of his study of A. S. Khomiakov and George Samarin (with whose son also he made friends) are three earlier volumes in the *Unam Sanctam* collection.³ He was first attracted to interest in Russia by the Abbé Portal. Though he was not able to go there many times or for long, his friendship with Dmitri Alexeievitch, which began in 1907, quickly deepened, and lasted till the revolution finally separated them. Khomiakov died in 1918.

Both the letters and the study of the essays bring out many of the points which must be deeply understood by anyone who wishes to pray intelligently and work fruitfully for reunion. To take only two examples: the Russian suspicion of 'Uniatism' is well expressed, and we can learn usefully what impression even so great a spirit as the Metropolitan Szeptycky gave to the most sympathetic Russian observers. Letters such as these show that no existing 'Uniate' church could attract the Russian Orthodox faithful.

Again, the book shows clearly what serious implications follow from the difference in meaning between the Latin and the Slavonic words applied to the Church in the Creed—

³ Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile, Tome I, Les hommes: Tome II, Les doctrines (5-6): Preface de G. Samarine aux œuvres théologiques de Khomiakov (7).

catholicus and *sobornyi*. It is most regrettable that the western languages have no word with the same denotation and connotation as *Sobornost*; consequently the word itself has to be used. But it seems to be on its way to becoming a blank counter in the hands of those who do not know Russian, and to have different meanings for a Catholic or a Protestant; yet it certainly does not mean precisely either 'Catholicism' or 'Fellowship'. The attempt to get at its primary etymology by some such invention as 'Altogetherness' falls short in real content, and does not express its immediate meaning, 'Conciliarity'—but here again this last word suggests exterior organization rather than organic unity. There would be room for a study in English on this subject, which might serve to keep misunderstandings from arising, since it seems that we must receive *Sobornost* into our language.

It was the great sorrow of the young Abbé Gratieux that, after being convinced that he had found his vocation, he was forbidden by his bishop to go to Russia or to lecture at the Institut catholique, and was sent to a country parish. He obeyed wholeheartedly; and Dmitri Alexeievitch, for all his deep regret and his dislike of such exercise of authority, never suggested that he was wrong. Of course Gratieux was acting as no infatuated idealist, but as a real lover of the real unity of the real Church, and in this Khomiakov was with him. This book would be less precious if it were not so authentic a record of a friendship which was firmly grounded in both realism and charity. We shall get nowhere without both.

ROBERT MURRAY, S.J.

Plotinus by A. H. Armstrong, Professor of Greek, Liverpool University. (Ethical and Religious Classics. George Allen and Unwin) 10s. 6d.

This is a volume of extracts chosen, arranged and translated by Professor Armstrong and prefaced by an outline of Plotinus' philosophy with some account of its antecedents.

The translation reads admirably and inspires full confidence in its fidelity. The introduction makes the main features of Plotinus' thought clear and is assisted by a brief summary at the head of each extract. Whereas Prophyry who edited Plotinus' remains arranged them in an arbitrary and fanciful fashion, the selections display his thought systematically. We are shown a view of reality descending from the Absolute first principle, the One, through the orders of Spirit or

Intellect—Professor Armstrong wisely retains the Greek term *Nous*—through Soul and Nature, organic life, to bodies composed of form immediately superimposed on all but formless and unreal matter. The ascent of the human soul, now partly but not wholly confined to a body is then traced upwards as it returns through its higher unembodied soul to *Nous* and thence to a mystical union with the One told as the philosopher mystic's personal experience. In short the work is a compendium of Plotinus' philosophy in his own words. Professor Armstrong points out that in contradistinction to Plato's static view of the ideal world, mathematical and sculptural, Plotinus' view is eminently dynamic. It is a universe of life superabundant, overflowing.

It seems also clear, though Professor Armstrong does not say so, that every order of being below the One is created. Not indeed in time for every order of being exists ab eterno. Not yet the result of a Divine choice which might have been otherwise, though there is no compulsion of need. Because He is overflowing Good by the very fact of being Himself the One is the source of a series of radiations, each produced by the one above it and less real than its source. Because the One is, He radiates *Nous*, because *Nous* is, it radiates Soul and so down to matter. *Nous* is a totality of Forms which are also intelligences, such that each, though individual, is nevertheless one with all the rest, not separate from the other intelligence-forms. Sometimes Plotinus' language in these excerpts suggests that *Nous* is simply this totality. But he also speaks of a supreme *Nous* centre and lord of this spiritual community. Soul is a similar totality though the unity is here less complete.

Our embodied souls are souls which have taken a body into themselves and have thereby partly restricted their activity. Plotinus attempts, not very successfully, to combine the view that this embodiment is a sinful fall and that it is required by the universal good. But there are higher souls which have not been embodied but remain above in communion with *Nous* to which indeed, in Plotinus' more usual view the highest factor in man belongs. Though his statement is unacceptable, Plotinus sees and is trying to express the fact that the human soul has a higher and lower life or activity. As its inferior function it ensouls the body, is the principle of its animal life and as such is in truth imprisoned by it. As its higher function it enspirits the body employing it in the service of distinctively spiritual activities.

Though Plotinus regards metaphysical matter as the source of the evil inevitable in this lower world, he maintains that the corporeal world is good and beautiful, the shadowy image, to employ Sterry's term, of the spiritual world.

It should be clear that the Neoplatonic Trinity cannot in any way be assimilated to the Christian. On the other hand the negative theology of the One has been endorsed by the classical tradition of Catholic theology and mysticism.

The doctrine of the mutual inexistence of intelligences in Nous, of souls in Soul, harmonizes with Jung's doctrine of the collective unconscious and its archetypes.

Plotinus uses his view of the universe as an organism in which every part is intimately bound up with the rest and implies it to justify a too credulous belief in magic. But when in this connection he writes 'it is not the will of reason which is charmed by the magic of music, but the irrational soul, and this kind of magic causes no surprise, people like being enchanted' he approaches closely our modern psychology of the suggestible subconscious. That he explains answers to prayer as the work of magical cosmic influences is unfortunate. It is not, however wholly true that he denies divine grace and regards the soul's entire ascent as the result of her own efforts. For he can write 'the beauty of Nous is ineffective till it catches a light from the Good (the One) and the soul by itself is completely ineffective . . .

But WHEN A KIND OF WARMTH FROM THENCE COMES UPON IT, it gains strength and wakes and is truly winged . . . It naturally goes on upwards LIFTED BY THE GIVER OF ITS LOVE.' This surely is to say that union with the One is possible only when the One bestows the power to attain it.

Plotinus, I would observe, confirms my personal belief in forms of individuals and in spiritual matter.

Not only is Professor Armstrong doubtful whether Plotinus was, as Eunapius informs us, born in Egypt, though his fellow pupils at Ammonius' Alexandrian School were Egyptian, he says that we cannot know to what race he belonged. Surely his mispronunciation of Greek words, his bad spelling and running of words together make it probable that Coptic not Greek was his mother tongue and that he was therefore a Copt. His Latin name has no more racial significance than St Paul's.

For all who would grasp the essential doctrines of a philosophy which has played so large a part in the develop-

ment of Christian philosophy, even bringing into it much of Aristotle under the aegis of Plato a millenium before he was formally accepted as a master in the Catholic schools, this volume is invaluable, I would almost say indispensable. But it makes me wish for a complete translation of the *Enneads* from Professor Armstrong's competent and scholarly pen, chronologically rearranged with a full-length introduction and copious notes. It would be indeed a magnum opus, and would do for Plotinus what Jowett did for Plato, though I believe with a better understanding of Plotinus' thought Jowett possessed of Plato's.

But it would not displace this abridgement and concentrated essence, even then to be recommended to the beginner, indeed, to all who lack time or interest for the complicated and unessential detail.

E. I. WATKIN.

One and Holy by Karl Adam, trans. C. Hastings. Pp. 102 (Sheed and Ward) 7s. 6d.

In 1952 (*E.C.Q.*, Spring 1952), the French translation of Karl Adam's book (*Vers l'Unité Chrétienne*) was reviewed; the present version has now been published in the U.S.A. and London, and we wish it all success; it is an important book, specially considering the present position of the Ecumenical Movement.

We are not going to repeat what has already been said in the review of the French edition, we shall confine ourselves to stressing the positive suggestions made by the author concerning reunion.

"The reunion of Christendom is an eminently religious matter. Therefore, it demands an attitude of mind that searches for light and truth for the sake of *religion*."

"If a man attains to this clarity within his own church, if he can say yes with complete conviction to his own church, he *may* not think of leaving it for another, he *may* not become a Catholic" (p. 81).

Karl Adam visualizes the possibility of *Corporate* reunion on account of which he considers 'the authorities of the Church would have to decide on considerable alterations in disciplinary regulations, at least for the newly incorporated communities. The clergy involved would in all probability remain true to their pastoral calling. On the other hand, many of them would be married. Rome might, then, for these parts of the Church, withdraw or at least restrict her law of celibacy.

'It is possible, however, to think of other ways in which the Church could meet outsiders half-way. For example: the diaconate, which Wichern introduced into the Lutheran Church, and which has always had the status of a sacrament in the Catholic Church, might be built up again, as in early Christian times, into an independent office in the Church. Deacons could be entrusted with the pastoral duties of preaching, the administration of Baptism and Communion, religious instruction and the dispensing of charity. Convert Protestant clergy would then, seen from without, continue to have the same duties which they carried out in the Protestant Church. Seen from within, they would have a share in the sacramental order of the Church . . . the diaconate could be exempted from the law of celibacy' (p. 94 and 95).

This is the first time we have seen a scheme for Corporate reunion worked out in connection with Protestant Churches.

The main part of the book deals with the roots of the Reformation and this the previous reviewer dealt with.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

History of Russian Philosophy by N. O. Lossky. Pp. 416 (George Allen and Unwin, 1952) 30s.

The venerable Professor Lossky, who might be called the Nestor of Russian spiritualist philosophy, has provided the English speaking public with the first history of general Russian philosophy in a Western language. But it is on spiritualist philosophy that he dwells particularly in his conclusion, showing its total opposition to the ideology dominant in the U.S.S.R. The history begins in the 'classical' fashion in the eighteenth century and ends with our contemporaries, Florovsky and the author's son, V. Lossky. The philosophers are grouped according to the tendency of their doctrine and in a more generally cultural context. The historian gives his judgement on them and his estimate of their value.

The author himself admits that his method limits his treatment of his subject and expresses the hope that others will complement it.

'Russian philosophy contains many valuable ideas not only with regard to religious problems, but also in the realm of epistemology, metaphysics and ethics. Acquaintance with them will be useful for the development of universal human culture' (p. 408-9). The interest of Russian spiritualist philosophy for the West, already appreciated in England and Germany,

can be seen in the 'ideal-realism', which springs from Orthodoxy and is the Orthodox reply to Kantian idealism. This system accepts the critique of pure reason, but understands the practical reason in its own special way as 'integral knowledge'. I believe this is important for understanding and forming a judgement about this Russian ideology.

A slip on p. 336 may be noted, where it is stated that Viatcheslav Ivanov is still living in Rome—he died in 1945.

DOM CLEMENT LIALINE.

Poets and Mystics by E. I. Watkin (Sheed and Ward) 215.

Mr Watkin convinces us in his first essay that the poet is of inferior status to the mystic, for as he puts it, 'artistic intuition of significant form and mystical intuition of union with the Formless Divine Reality are distinct and cannot coincide or fuse'. However, he admits that 'the ideas of which the forms perceived and chosen by the artist are significant, are in the last analysis attributes of the Absolute Spiritual Reality which is God'. And further weakens his argument by confessing that the poems of St John of the Cross, pre-eminently the *Noche Oscura*, 'seem to owe their birth directly to the mystical experience'. In another essay on 'Drama and Religion', Mr Watkin must be allowed his point that as all great tragedies present a problem but never a solution, and as religion is the solution of the universal human tragedy, there can be no such thing as a religious tragedy. But he himself admits that religion destroys drama only by fulfilling it, and that the tragic artist 'will help us to a deeper understanding, a fuller appreciation, of the solution of the tragic problem—which religion alone can provide. The saint may stand in no need of this assistance, but we who are not saints would be ill-advised to reject it, for . . . human life, though made for God, and tending to God is still on the road, and still far from the goal.'

The poet, it will be seen, despite his inferior status, almost gets the better of it. Mr T. S. Eliot has written that 'no poet has begun to master dramatic verse until he can write lines that . . . are *transparent*. You are consciously attending, not to the poetry, but to the meaning of the poetry.' However, as Mr Watkin finely shows, mystical experience is but the accident of the union of the soul with God, which is gained by willed charity, whereas poetic experience is the substance of aesthetic contemplation which lays the will to sleep. But although 'poetry cannot unite us more closely to God, our employment

of it may'. Mr T. S. Eliot has said that 'poetry is not a substitute for philosophy or theology or religion; it has its own function. But as this function is not intellectual but emotional, it cannot be defined adequately in intellectual terms.' And when one considers some of the famous definitions, one sees how right he is. Hazlitt says that 'poetry is the universal language which the heart holds with nature and itself' and Keats that poetry 'cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself'. And Coleridge has it that 'the poet, described in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity'. Mr Watkin shows that poets, because of their exceptional aesthetic sensibility are capable of mystical experience (though not of the highest order), despite their lack of sanctity. But Mr Eliot warns his readers against the dangers of secularist literature which 'repudiates, or is wholly ignorant of, our most fundamental and important beliefs'. So we are back here to the mystics, and it is to them that we turn for light in this age, rather than to the poets, for 'the mystic possesses what the poet only indicates'.

Most of the essays in this book have been published before, and are well worth republishing. There is the first class introduction to that peculiarly English mystic Dame Julian of Norwich, the able defence of the true mystic quality of Margery Kempe, whose copious weeping was a great trial to those who accompanied her on pilgrimages; and the exposition of the doctrines of Dom Augustine Baker, perhaps more reliably set forth here than in Aldous Huxley. There is a new essay on the spiritual teaching of Sister Elizabeth of the Trinity, a young Carmelite; and another new essay on John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist. For the rest there are satisfying essays on the poets Crashaw, Vaughan and Ruth Pitter and a most interesting, and eirenical study of 'a puritan devotion to the Sacred Heart'.

JOHN AND MARGARET MARY BATE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Sheed and Ward : *One and Holy*, Karl Adam.
 S.P.C.K. : *Origen's Treatise on Prayer*, trans., E. G. Jay.
 Brill, Leiden : *Two rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature*, Werner Jaeger.
 Mowbray : *The Meditations of William of St Thierry*, trans. a Religious of C.S.M.V.; *Of Cleaving to God*, St Albert the Great; *Meditations and Devotions*, Fenelon; *The Liturgical Movement*, J. H. Srawley.
 Cambridge University Press : *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion*, ed. M. Black.

UNESCO BOOK COUPONS

The attention of our French subscribers is drawn to the possibility of paying their subscriptions to the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* with Unesco Book Coupons, and thus avoiding the difficulties of currency regulations.

Unesco Book Coupons, which exist in denominations of \$1, \$3, \$10, \$30, \$100 and a 'blank' coupon, which can be filled in for amounts from 1 to 99 U.S. cents, can be bought for French francs at the official rate of exchange.

Requests for coupons should be addressed to the French distributing body, whose address is given below :

SERVICES DES BIBLIOTHÈQUES DE FRANCE,
55 RUE ST DOMINIQUE,
PARIS 7E.

The requisite amount of coupons should be sent, together with your order, to :

MESSRS GEORGE E. J. COLDWELL, LTD
17 RED LION SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

THE DOWNSIDE REVIEW

A Quarterly of Catholic Thought

Published by the Benedictine Monks of Downside Abbey,
Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Nr Bath.

SUMMER 1954

- | | |
|---|--|
| The Earthly Paradise | Dom Mark Pontifex |
| Scripture, Tradition and History | George H. Tavard, A.A. |
| Aelred of Rievaulx and the Monastic Tradition | |
| concerning Action and Contemplation | Ailred Squire, O.P. |
| The Transcendent Unity of Religions | Dom Bede Griffiths |
| The Salvation of Non-Catholics | James O'Connell, S.M.A. |
| The Development of the Papacy | Dom Ralph Russell and
Dom Cyprian Stockford |
| Reviews of Books | |
| Commentary | |
| Downside News | |

*The Annual Subscription of sixteen shillings and eightpence
is payable to the Secretary, The Downside Review, Stratton-
on-the-Fosse, Nr Bath. (Single Copies 4/2 post free)*

Writings from the *Philokalia* on Prayer of the Heart

Here, for the first time, a representative selection of the *Philokalia* is made available for English readers. This important collection of writings by Fathers of the Eastern Church dates from the fourth to the fourteenth century, and is translated by E. Kadloubovsky and E. Palmer, with a new foreword and the original introduction and biographical notes. 30s.

The Journal of Ecclesiastical History Vol. II No. 2.

When the first number of this new twice-yearly Journal appeared last year, it was cordially welcomed for both its scholarship and comprehensiveness. It is edited by the Rev. C. W. Dugmore, supported by a strong board of advisers, and 'it seems unlikely that later issues will fail to keep up the admirable standard of the first number'.—*The Times Educational Supplement*. 'The second number offers even richer and more fascinating material than its brilliant predecessor . . . extraordinarily able and varied.'—*Church Times*.

Annual subscription 25s. Single copies, each 15s.

FABER & FABER LTD.

THE MAKERS OF CHRISTENDOM

*The first two volumes in a new series edited by
Christopher Dawson : a bold attempt to help Christians
to an awareness of the richness of the cultural tradition
which they inherit*

The Western Fathers

Translated and Edited by F. R. Hoare

16/- net

Through the Dark Ages, the great saints stood out above the ruck of men as rallying points for the forces of civilisation in its confused struggle with barbarism. Here are the lives of a typical handful of these men—SS. Martin of Tours, Augustine of Hippo, Honoratus of Arles, Germanus of Auxerre, and Ambrose. Their deeds are recounted very much as were the deeds of Count Roland and his paladins.

The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany

Translated and Edited by C. H. Talbot

16/- net

The Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Lioba and Lebuin, the correspondence of St Boniface and the records of the travels of St Willibald—these contemporary documents cover the great missionary movement which, based on the British Isles, aimed at the conquest of Germany and the Netherlands for the faith, and was among the most striking and successful of the Church's early counter-moves in relation to the barbarism which was at once a threat and an injection of fresh vitality.

SHEED & WARD, LTD

33 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2

THE SCRIPTURES AND THE SPIRIT

A Special Double Number of 'The Life of the Spirit'

Contributions include: *The Spiritual Sense of Scripture* by Sebastian Bullough; *Lectio Divina* by Bede Griffiths; *Scripture and the Liturgy* by E. I. Watkin; *Images of the Bible* by Nicolette Gray; *The Old Testament and Modern Psychology* by Dr F. B. Elksich; *Christ's Method of Exegesis* by Senox; *Newman, the Bible and Obiter Dicta* by Mgr H. F. Davis; *Points of View* by Neville Braybrooke, George Ineson, Eric Colledge, and Richard Rutt; *The Obstacles of a Scripture Scholar* by Conrad Pcpier; Reviews; Notices; Extracts.

One Plate

Three shillings and sixpence

BLACKFRIARS PUBLICATIONS

34 Bloomsbury Street, London W.C.1

Geo. E. J. Coldwell Ltd

NEW ADDRESS:

17 RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

I supply your
Book Needs.

I am anxious to buy
second-hand books by
Catholic Authors .

*My old stock was completely destroyed by
enemy action and it must be remade .*

PLEASE NOTE:

Subscriptions for 'Eastern Churches Quarterly' for 1954 must
be sent in to above address early to enable us to proceed.

The Price appears on the Front Cover.

PAX

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE BENEDICTINES
OF PRINKNASH

CONTENTS OF SUMMER NUMBER, 1954

The Abbot's Letter

St Boniface

A school in Brittany sixty years ago (*continued*)

T. F. Lindsay

The Rev. Etienne Robo

Anon

'Domine probasti me'

New Norcia

Dom Michael Hawbury, O.S.B.

Hilton re-edited

G. M. Durnford

Community Notes

Reviews of Books

Single copy 2/- post free. Annual subscription 7/6 post free.

FROM

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLICATIONS
PRINKNASH ABBEY GLOUCESTER

THE REVIEW

"Eglise Vivante"

GIVES THE EDUCATED CHRISTIAN A
KNOWLEDGE OF THE MISSIONARY
TEACHING OF THE CHURCH AND OF
THE PROBLEMS AND CIVILISATIONS
OF ALL MISSION LANDS

—
its annual Bibliographical Supplement
records everything which is published
in regard to Ecclesiology.

—
Yearly, 500 pages in 4 volumes
16/- (with the Supplement 19/-)

DUCKETT

140 Strand, London, W.C.2

—
Free specimen on demand at
the Review's address :
28, rue des Joyeuses Entrées,
LOUVAIN (Belgium).

Catholic Records Press

EXETER

ECCLESIASTICAL
SCHOLASTICAL
EDUCATIONAL
COMMERCIAL
DEVOTIONAL
LITURGICAL
MEDICAL

for all Printing
requirements

WORSHIP

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE
LITURGICAL APOSTOLATE

VERBICULAR
SACRAMENTAL
DIALOGUE MASS
MYSTICAL BODY
LAY PRIESTHOOD

PARISH PARTICIPATION
FAMILY LIFE
LAITY AND BREVIARY
CHRISTIAN ART
SOCIAL PROBLEMS

WORSHIP has been accorded the gold medal award by the
Catholic Press Association for being the best magazine in
its class.

Published monthly

One year £7s. 6d.

Duckett

140 Strand, London, W.C.2

